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HANDBOOK

OF THE

INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

BY

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Chapter 32.

THE YOKUTS: GEOGRAPHY.

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TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

101 619 The Yokuts are unique among the California natives in one respect. They are divided into true tribes. Each has a name, a dialect, and a territory. The first of these traits, the group name, is wanting in other Californians, who normally are able to designate themselves only by the appellation of the place they inhabit. The second feature, dialectic separateness, of course is an old story for California, but elsewhere in the State each idiom is usually common to a considerable number of tribelets or "village communities." Only in the third trait, their political independence and their ownership of a tract of land, are the ordinary Californian village communities and the Yokuts tribes similar.

Forty of these tribes are sufficiently known to be locatable. In the northern part of the Yokuts areas the map is, however, blank except for a few names of groups of uncertain situation and doubtful affinities. The total number of tribes may therefore have reached 50. Such an array of dialects is unparalleled, and gives to 101 197 the Yokuts alone nearly one-third of all the different forms of speech talked in the State. The differences of language from tribe to tribe were often rather limited; but they are marked enough to be readily perceptible to the interested Caucasian observer. Since the total length of the Yokuts area does not much exceed 250 miles and the breadth nowhere attains to 100, the individual geographical range of these little languages was exceedingly narrow. Their territory averaged perhaps 300 square miles—say a half day's foot journey in each direction from the center.

101 Some of the tribes occupied a single spot with sufficient permanence to become identified with it: thus the Wowol on Atwells Island in Tulare Lake, the Gawia and Yokod on opposite sides of Kaweah River where this leaves the hills, the Choinimni at the junction of

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Mill Creek and Kings River. Such groups, save for their distinctive speech, would be indistinguishable from the village communities of their neighbors if the purely local designations of the latter were replaced by appellations for the people themselves. Still fainter is the line of demarcation when the Choinimni, for instance, are called, as occasionally happens, Tishechuchi after their town Tishechu; but such terms are rare among the Yokuts. 101

For other tribes a principal and several subsidiary abodes are specified; thus the Paleuyami are identified with Altau and sometimes called Altinin, but lived also at Bekiu, Shikidapau, Holmiu, and other places. The Hometwoli lived at three principal sites, and the Chukchansi, Tachi, Yauelmani, and others dwelt from time to time, and perhaps simultaneously, at a number of places scattered over a considerable tract. These instances confirm the Yokuts divisions as true tribes.

Fully half the Yokuts tribal names end either in -amni, found also as -imni, -mina, -mani; or in -chi. The former suffix recurs added to place names among the Plains Miwok to designate the inhabitants of such and such spots, and among the Maidu as an ending of village names; the latter among the southern Miwok with the significance "people of." But the subtraction of either of these endings from the names of Yokuts tribes usually leaves only meaningless syllables; and in general the people themselves are well content to employ their little national designations without inquiring what they may denote. The few etymologies which they have ventured in response to inquiries are obviously naive and unhistorical. [192]

HABITAT.

The home of the Yokuts was the San Joaquin Valley, the entire floor of which they held, from the mouth of the river to the foot of Tehachapi Pass. In addition, they occupied the adjacent lower slopes or foothills of the Sierra Nevada, up to an altitude of a few thousand feet, from Fresno River south, but nowhere to the north of that stream. The San Joaquin River proper flows down only the lower half of the length of the valley. Above it, Kings and then Kern River also break westward from the high mountains and the latter turns north into the treeless plains. Kern River drained into Tulare Lake, formerly a large, shallow basin of water surrounded by an even more extensive tract of swamp of tules, as two or three species of rush are locally known. The swamps are now reclaimed and much of the lake is normally dry and its area under cultivation. For most of the year, formerly, the evaporation over this immense sheet sufficed to equal the intake from Kern River and other streams; in time of flood the lake might drain north through Fish Slough into Kings River. This latter stream itself, though of considerable [132] 101 131 133

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133 volume, was nearly lost in a lengthy area of swamp, whence its waters seem normally to have flowed backward into Tulare Lake. It seems that Kings River and Tulare Lake drained into the San Joaquin at no remote time, since the lake is fresh. The San Joaquin, from the point where it reached the central axis of the valley and perhaps once took in the excess discharge of Kings and Kern Rivers, was also bordered pretty continuously by tule swamps, though of less width than to the south. Hence the Spanish name "Los Tulares" for the low-lying portion of the valley and "Rio de los Tulares" for the stream, though by the latter term they understood the main line of the entire drainage system rather than its lower, more northerly portion alone, to which we, with greater precision but more arbitrary logic, restrict the name San Joaquin. Hence also the appellation Tulareños, under which they consistently and appropriately knew the Yokuts. (Pl. 47.)

[101]

The eastern side of the level valley is traversed by streams from the Sierra Nevada. A dozen or so of these merit the name "river." The west side of the valley, however, on the lee of the rather low and barren Mount Diablo Coast Range, is arid; and not even one permanent stream of any size whatsoever reaches the central river system from this left hand. The overwhelming bulk of the American population is on the east side. The dispersion of the Yokuts was, 131 if anything, even more unilateral. In the whole upper valley, in which the distribution of the Yokuts groups is pretty accurately known, there were only two tribes, the Tulamni and Tachi, in the large tract west of Tulare Lake and Kings River; and even of these [484 two the Tachi preferred to cross to the east side when summer and 22] autumn dried the overflowed lands and rendered their winter habitat a virtual desert.

101 Along the west of the San Joaquin we have less certain knowledge. This territory seems to have belonged to the Yokuts, though in default of precise information it has sometimes been attributed to the Costanoan people or to the Miwok. This very doubt indicates an unimportant occupation; and while the area was almost certainly visited by the Yokuts, and probably claimed by one or more of their northerly tribes, the number of residents must also have been very few.

133 The flow of Sierra rivers of approximately equal length is ever less toward the south, so that Yokuts streams are smaller than those in Miwok territory and much smaller than those occupied by the Maidu. The run-off in millions of acre-feet is approximately as follows. Yokuts: Kern, ½; Kaweah, ½; Kings, 2; San Joaquin, 2. Miwok: Merced, 1½; Tuolumne, 2; Stanislaus, 1½; Mokelumne, 1. Maidu: American, 3½; Yuba, 2½; Feather, at Oroville, 6; the Sacramento at Red Bluff, above the Feather, 10½, most of it from the Pit. Even a short affluent of the Pit, Fall River, the habitat of one Achomawi division, carries about a million acre-feet, or more than the lengthy Kern or Kaweah.

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CLASSIFICATION.

The classification of the Yokuts tribes must be made, like that of other Indians, and those of California in particular, on the basis of language. In spite of the number of the tribes, this it not difficult; for the dialects fall clearly into two great divisions, which coincide with the two topographic regions held by the stock: the valley proper and the foothills of the southern Sierra Nevada. Only in the extreme south were there three tribes speaking idioms of the foothill type but dwelling in the plains between Tulare Lake and the Tehachapi region. These three dialects, closely similar to one another, are easily the most divergent of all Yokuts forms of speech, and thus argue an unusual and peculiar history for the little remote group of people whose idiom was derived from that of the mountains while their habitat was in the valley.

The valley dialects are the most uniform, in fact remarkably similar to one another. A Yokuts from Stockton must have been able to understand considerable of the talk of one from Bakersfield—a condition utterly unparalleled for any like distance elsewhere in California; for although the Northern Paiute and Mono afford a technical exception, they are mostly east of the Sierra Nevada and hence in the Great Basin outside the natural limits of California. The Yokuts Valley dialects seem to be classifiable into two groups, a northern along the San Joaquin and a southern from Kings River south; but the former is very little known, and it is possible that fuller information regarding it might shift the line of demarcation.

The foothill dialects, though hardly more numerous and spoken over a very much smaller area, are far more diversified. This might be anticipated from the topography of their territory. Their variety may, however, also be due to the historical fortunes of the foothill tribes. The farther south one progresses along the lower Sierra, the more deviations does one encounter from the type of Yokuts speech which is numerically preponderant and therefore justly to be considered the normal and presumably original form. Now the Yokuts as a whole constitute the southernmost branch of the great Penutian family, which, so to speak, radiates in five directions from the region of the entrance of the Sacramento and San Joaquin into the head of San Francisco Bay; in other words from the lowest and central point of the Great Valley of California. That the foothill dialects of Yokuts become more and more specialized the farther they are situated from this center of influence and possibly of origin is certainly significant; though whether it is significant of successive migrations from the north, of longer contact with Shoshonean and Chumash aliens, or merely of ever reduced intercourse with kinsmen, must as yet be left to conjecture.

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101 The northern group of tribes in the foothill division are those living on the
197 San Joaquin where this stream still pursues a southwesterly course before turning into the main line of the valley. Their dialects are very similar to those of the adjacent northern valley tribes; so much so that they could almost be reckoned as of one group with them were it not that the more and more insistent divergence of all subsequent foothill dialects draws these northernmost idioms into the distinctive hill class. This comparative indeterminateness between the speech of the northern hills and plains is paralleled in the topography. Along the San Joaquin and to the north, the perfectly flat valley shades imperceptibly into the gentlest undulations, which swell and magnify into long low hillocks, until the foothills proper are gradually reached.

From Kings River south the transition from plain to foothills is abrupt, a single step often being literally sufficient to carry one from one area into the other. This means that the physiography is sharply distinct, and that the native modes of life, with their direct adaptation to the soil, can not be identical. It is therefore not surprising that the Kings River group of foothill dialects is well marked off from the adjacent southern valley group.

The Tule-Kaweah group comprises the idioms on these two streams, with which the foothill portion of Deer Creek must be included.

The Poso Creek group of dialects covers not only this stream but White River to the north and a section of Kern River to the south.

With the Buena Vista group, finally, the greatest departure from average Yokuts speech is attained, but, as already mentioned, the foothill habitat of the remainder of the division was abandoned, at least in historic times.

Here follow the names of the Yokuts tribes, their habitats, and their principal known villages. The sequence is from foothills to valley and from south to north, the reverse of that just pursued, in order to allow of procedure from the better to the less known.

TRIBES OF THE BUENA VISTA GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

101 The Tulamni (plural Tulalmina) were the tribe in possession of Buena Vista
131 Lake, at some point on whose western or northwestern shore where the hills come close to the water was their main settlement Tulamniu, "Tulamni-place." From there they ranged westward to Wogitiu in the vicinity of McKittrick.
[103] (Pl. 47.)

On Kern Lake were the Hometwoli or Humetwadi. This name means "southerners" and is a variant of the common term Homtinin applied by any Yokuts to those of their neighbors who live to the south. The true tribal designation of the Hometwoli has been forgotten. They inhabited at least three principal sites: Halau near the entrance of Kern River into the channel connecting
[103] Kern and Buena Vista Lakes; Loasau, somewhere on the north side of Kern Lake; and Pohalin Tiniu (meaning "ground squirrels' hole") in Yauelmani, or Sihetal Daal in the Hometwoli dialect itself, on the south shore.

[194] The Tuhohi, Tobohai, or Tuhohayi (the t is almost like English *tr*) are extinct. They are said to have spoken a dialect similar to Tulamni and Hometwoli, and to have lived among the channels and tule-lined sloughs of lower
[103] Kern River where these became lost in Tulare Lake. They may have ranged as far as Goose Lake. Their principal habitation is spoken of as Tahayu, "Tuhohi-place."

114 A little mystery may be dispelled here. Stephen Powers found among the
115 Yauelmani one old man, the survivor of a tribe that had once lived on Kern

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Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, he recognized as distinctively non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns:

kitol, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapâi	uyatsi.
kicha	chuichan (a place name).
olchat, ulchao	lopchin-tiniiu (at the fish hole).
painel, payat	pokoichin-tiniiu.
te, tepa	tuhtu.
saapel	pusin-tiniiu (at the dog's hole).
tatatsoi	hoeche.
tsoe	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshonean neighbors, Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poso Creek, especially at Altau ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream about as far up in the hills as K'ono-likin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley, appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapau (*shikid*, "arrow") in Poso Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley.

The Kumachisi, Komechesi, Kometsiosi, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoschiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altau being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami territory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence.

TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yaudchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutas (plural Nuchawayi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunui ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either Yaudanchi or Bokninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gathered seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River

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131 All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River
101 south, except perhaps the Wowol and Chunut of Tulare Lake, and at least most
619 of the adjacent Shoshoneans, were friendly and appear to have ranged over one
another's territory amicably and almost at will. The northern Yokuts were
[578] more divided by distrusts and hostilities; definite intertribal boundaries are
known in several cases; and southern tradition speaks of invading war parties
from the north.

101 The Bokninuwad or Bokninwal (plural Bokenwadi), Garcés's Pagninoas,
131 are in native opinion so named because they had a habit of not returning to
their owners lost articles that they encountered (*bok*, "find"). They appear
to have been a smaller tribe than the neighboring and similar Yaudanchi.
Deer Creek, in the foothills, was their habitat. Here they lived at K'eyau, near
[103] the valley, and perhaps at Hoin Tinlin ("deer's hole"), farther up, not far from
Deer Creek Hot Springs, though the Shoshonean Bankalachi seem also to have
frequented the region of the latter. The southern forks of Tule River, includ-
ing the present reservation, were in customary Bokninuwad range.

The Wükchamni, Wikchamni, or Wikchomni (plural Wükachmina or Wikatsmina), whose name was a byword for "gluttons," and who may be the Buezanet of Garcés, wintered on Kaweah River near Lemon Cove and Iron Bridge and frequented the adjacent hills in summer.

The Yokod or Yokol (plural Yuwekadi) had their principal village a dozen miles below the Wükchamni, on a flat near Kaweah railroad station, on the south side of Kaweah River, north of Exeter. Their summer range met that of the Yaudanchi about Lindsay.

The Gawia or Kawia (plural Gaweyayi or Kaweyayi), from whom Kaweah River takes its name, lived at a hill on the north side of the stream, opposite the Yokod. Their recognised northward range included Chidepuish, Calvin Hill, on Big Dry or Rattlesnake Creek. They seem to be the people whom Garcés calls Coguifa.

TRIBES OF THE KINGS RIVER GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

In this coterie the Choinimni survive to-day in the greatest, although much reduced, numbers. They were perhaps also the most populous before the white
[103] man came. Their village was the before-mentioned Tishechu, said to mean "at the gate," a place of some importance on the south side of Kings River at the mouth of Mill Creek.

The Choinimni were the Yokuts farthest up Kings River proper, Mono territory beginning some miles beyond Tishechu. Next up Mill Creek were the
[103] Michahai (plural Michahaisha or Michayisa), at Hehshinau, on the north side of the stream, on a flat at the foot of the pine-covered ridge.

Up a small affluent of Mill Creek from the south, in Squaw Valley, some
[103] 6 miles from Hehshinau, were the Chukaimina (plural Chokoyemi). These lived at Dochiu and Mashtinau, at the north and east sides of the circular valley.

Up Mill Creek, at Kicheyu near Dunlap, and at another site known as Chit'-
[103] atichi ("clover"), were the Entimbich or Indimbich (plural Enatbicha or Inadbicha). These, neighbors of the Shoshonean Wobonuch, have sometimes also been classed as Monos; but a vocabulary of their dialect establishes them as Yokuts.

[103] Below the Choinimni on Kings River, but on the opposite side, were the Tothicha (plural Toyehachi). They lived at Tanain ("Jimson weed place"), at Hughes Creek, and at Bochiptau.

Still farther down Kings River, but this time on the south side, were the
[103] Aiticha, Aitecha, Aititsa, Aigicha, or Ai'kicha (plural Aiyetatsi or Aiyekachi). Their village was K'ipayu, somewhat nearer to Centerville than to Tishechu.

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Kocheyali is mentioned by some of the Yokuts as another name for the Aliticha. This is not, however, their unanimous verdict. Two designations for a single tribe are also without parallel, apart from duplicate appellations based on names of places or terms of direction. There may therefore have been a distinct Kocheyali tribe in this vicinity. 101 131

With the Gashowu (plural Gashwusha) Big Dry Creek, losing itself in the plain near Fresno, and Little Dry Creek, draining into the San Joaquin, are reached. The Gashowu dialect also differs somewhat from the idioms of the Kings River group and approaches correspondingly to those of the northern foothill or San Joaquin group; but its general affinities are still with the former. The Chukchansi, for instance, complain of difficulty in understanding Gashowu, which fact, since their own idiom is very similar to Dumna, which in turn was spoken only a few miles from the Gashowu of Little Dry Creek, is significant. The Gashowu ranged to Fresno to gather seeds in spring or summer. Old maps show two Indian rancherias. One of these can be identified with Pohoniu, below Letcher on Big Dry Creek. On Little Dry Creek were Yokau in Auberry Valley, near Oponiu, and Ochopou, the latter attributed also to the Kechayi. [197] [103]

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Toltichi (plural Toletachi), the "stream people," were the Yokuts tribe farthest up the San Joaquin and neighbors of the Mono. They are extinct. The recorded fragments of their speech show many distortions, not only from northern foothill but from all forms of Yokuts. It is doubtful whether these divergencies are due to faulty recollection or are real modications caused by prolonged contact of a small and remote mountain group with people of alien language, as in the case of the Paleuyami. It is even conceivable that the Toltichi were Monos, who mispronounced the Yokuts which many of them had partly learned. Tsopotipau, at the electric power site on the large bend of the river below the entrance of the North Fork, was Toltichi. [197]

The Kechayi (plural Keche'wali or Kichainawi) had the south bank of the San Joaquin for some miles above Millerton. A settlement of theirs upstream from this abandoned town and fort was Kochoyu, which seems to mean nothing more than "Kechayi place." Farther up they lived at Kowichkowicho. Below the Kechayi were the Wakichi, a tribe of the valley division. 101 103 131

The Dumna (plural Dumanisha) were on the north side of the San Joaquin, about opposite the Kechayi. Their range took in the country opposite Millerton; Table Mountain; the mouth of Fine Gold Creek; and Bellevue, which they called Dinishnen.

The Dalinchi (plural Da'elnashi) were a little off the San Joaquin. Fine Gold Creek was their territory. Here they inhabited Moloneu; also O'Neals. Dalinau, "Dalinchi place," was over the divide in the Coarse Gold Creek drainage.

The Chukchansi, Shukshansi, or Shukshanchi (plural Chukadnisha) held Coarse Gold Creek, an affluent of Fresno River, and the head of Cottonwood Creek. They are the northernmost of all the foothill tribes, and their border, Fresno River, where they adjoined the Miwok, was the farthest limit of all the hill Yokuts. They appear to have moved and scattered considerably, and, being on friendly terms with their Miwok neighbors, to have had no hesitation in entering their territory. This is probably the reason why the modern Chukchansi list among their settlements certain places across the Fresno River, such as Apiau and Yiwisniu, whereas actually it was the Miwok who [648]

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101 seem to have owned a small tract on the south side of the stream. Hapasau,
103 near Fresno Flats, was, however, Chukchansi. Also well up on Fresno River
was Chukchanau or Suksanau, "Chukchansi place." On Coarse Gold Creek
131 they inhabited Tsuloniu, near the headwaters; Kowoniu or Kohoniu, on Picayune Creek; Kataniu, the present Picayune rancheria, where the majority of the survivors dwell; and, on Cottonwood Creek, they lived at Ch'eyau, "bone place," near Bates.

It is possible that place names like Kochoy-u, Dalin-au, Chukchan-au are original and that the tribal names Kechayi, Dalinchi, and Chukchanchi are derived from them. However, none of these place names yield to etymology, whereas many that are not related to tribal names do have meanings.

TRIBES OF THE SOUTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Yauelmani, Ya'welmani, Yowelmani, Yowenmani, Yowedmani, which forms appear to be the plural of Yaulamni or Yaudimni, perhaps number more survivors to-day than any other Yokuts tribe. Their ancient range was extensive. They held Tiniiu ("at the hole") on Paso Creek below the Tejon ranch house—perhaps the most southerly of all Yokuts settlements. This must have been a favorite abode, since it gave them the appellation Tiniinin, which, together with "Tejoneños," is still used as a synonym of Yauelmani. With this spot went ownership of the lower courses of Tejon and other near-by streams. Thirty or more miles to the north they held Woiio ("planting place," "sowing
[177] place"—the name was given after mission influences began to reach them), on the site of the town of Bakersfield. Up Kern River they lived at times at K'ono-ilkin ("water's fall") and at Shoko ("wind place," in a gorge), above which began the territory of the Tübatulabal, whom they knew as Pitanisha. These spots were also frequented by the Paleuyami across the divide on near-by Poso Creek, and it is not certain which tribe laid claim of ownership to them. A short distance above Bakersfield in the first foothills was Tsineuhiu ("at the shades" or "ramada place"), not permanently inhabited, but a favorite day resting place between night journeys in the summer; while below the city, on one of the channels of the river draining toward Kern Lake, was Kuyo. The Yauelmani are also mentioned as at Altau with the Paleuyami, at Hoschiu on White River with the Kumachisi, and at Chididiknawasi in the Deer Creek country—all places above the valley. It is therefore not surprising that there
[582] are old Indians, born, before the coming of the Americans, of a Yauelmani parent married to a Yaudanchi or Wowol partner. Unions with the Shoshonean Kitanemuk to the south and Bankalachi to the north also occurred.

The Koyeti or Kuyeti (plural Koyetati or Kuyetwadi), now extinct, seem to have been a smaller tribe of almost identical speech with the Yauelmani. They held the swampy sloughs of Tule River from Chokowisho, Porterville, down; this tract being known as Kiawitnau.

The Choinok (plural Choyenaki), the Choinoc of Garcés and Cabot, another small group, were the southernmost of three tribes in the flaring, slough-intersected delta of the Kaweah. They lived south of Tulare City and below Farmersville, probably on Deep and Outside Channels, in which region their town of Ch'luta may be looked for.

The Wo'lasi or Wo'ladji (plural Wowulasi, Wowelasi, Wowlasi) were north of the Choinok, at and below Farmersville, perhaps on Cameron Channel. This small tribe must not be confused with the more prominent Wowol (plural Wowowoli) of Tulare Lake.

The Telamni, Telomni, Tedamni (plural Tielami, Tielamni, Tiedami, Tiedamni, or Teyelamni), the "Telam or Torim" of Garcés and Telame of the

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missions, were northwest of the Wo'lasi, at Visalia and Goshen. Among their settlements was Waitatshuiul, some 7 miles north of Tulare City. Here for the first time we hear of fixed tribal boundaries. The Telamni, Wo'lasi, and Choinok did not pass over Cross Creek, the northernmost slough fed from the Kaweah, without encountering the hostility of the Nutunutu.

The valley tribes on Kings River appear to have been at least as large as those on the Kaweah, but they have died out almost as completely. At Centerville, also known as King River, at Sanger, and toward Reedley, were the Wechihit, Wechahet, or Wetehit (plural Wichehati). At Musahau, in the low bottoms, between the middle and east channels opposite Sanger, one or two survive near an ancient village site. Wewayo, on Wahtoke Creek, seems to have been a no-man's-land so far as tribal ownership went, but was at any rate visited by the Wechihit. A Wahtoke "tribe," formerly mentioned in this vicinity, was given that designation, which means "pine nut," by the Americans from the name of the chief of the band.

The Nutunutu or Nutuntu (plural Nutantisha) were south of lower Kings River, in a country formerly a mass of sloughs and swamps. Armona, Hanford, and Kingston were their territory; a little south of the latter was their village Chiau. Hibek'ia, where they also lived, can not be exactly located. Their name is puzzling. It probably goes back to the root *not*, upstream (compare the Nuta'a, or uplanders, the mountain Mono or hill Yokuts in general); yet the Nutunutu were certainly a downstream people, if there were any, to all their neighbors except possibly the Tachi.

The Wimilchi (plural Wimelachi) were separated by Kings River from the Nutunutu—and apparently without friendship—much as these kept Cross Creek as a barrier against the Telamni. The Wimilchi in turn observed Fish Slough, connecting Kings River and Tulare Lake, as a boundary against the Tachi. They had Lillis and Laton, and Cold and Murphy Sloughs; and in general seem to have occupied the whole of the Laguna de Tache land grant, though this was named after their better known western neighbors. Ugona was a Wimilchi town.

Tulare Lake and its shores are stated by all the Yokuts to have belonged to three tribes and three only, all of them large and warlike, though not always friendly to one another. These were, in order from south to north, the Wowol, Chunut, and Tachi.

The Wowol, Wowod, Wowal, or Wo'wal (plural Wowowoli, Wowowadi, Wowowali, or Wu'wo'wali) are the Bubol, Hubol, and perhaps Tuohuala of the Spaniards. They are not to be confounded with the Wo'lasi (plural Wowulasi) of Kaweah River. They are said, in a characteristically picturesque but probably unreliable native explanation, to have derived their name from standing ("*wowal*") in rows and lousing each other. Of more intrinsic interest is the fact that they lived on an island off the east shore of the lake, from which they used to cross on their tule rafts to the timbered or brushy stream outlets on the mainland to obtain firewood. This island is said to have been due west of the present Delano, which identifies it with Atwells Island, where old maps show an Indian rancheria on the lake shore. This settlement was called Sukuwutnu, Shukwatnau, or Shugudnu; the name Dulau has also been given it.

The settlement or settlements Miketsiu and Chuntau of the Chunut (plural Chunotachi or Chunotati) can be less exactly located, but the tribal range was the Tulare Lake shore in the Kaweah Delta region. Spanish sources refer to them as Sumtache and Tunctache. These people seem to have penetrated freely up the sloughs. Cross Creek was their northern boundary, as of

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101 the Telamni, against the Tachi and Nutunutu, a fact that argues close asso-
103 ciation between them and their upstream neighbors of the Kaweah.
131 The Tachi, Tadji, or Duchi (plural Tachechayi, Tadjedjayi, Dachechayi, Tatsetsai, or Tatetayi), the northernmost of the three Tulare Lake tribes, appear to have been one of the largest of all Yokuts divisions, and still survive to the number of some dozens. The Spaniards frequently referred to the Tache, and a Laguna de Tache land grant survives on our maps. Their country was the tract from northern Tulare Lake and its inlet or outlet, Fish Slough, west to the Mount Diablo chain of the Coast Range, where they bordered the Salinan Indians. Here they wintered at Udjiu, downstream from Coalinga, and at Walna, where the western hills approach the lake. Golon (Huron) was theirs. In summer they crossed to the east of the outlet and gathered seeds in the neighborhood of Lemoore. Chi, west of Heinlen, and Walu, Mussel Slough, on which stands their present rancheria of Santa Rosa, were in this tract. The various delimitations cited by older Indians as having formerly existed make it seem that the Tachi and Nutunutu were friendly to each other, but suspicious and probably hostile at times toward the Wimilchi on the one side and the Chunut, Temlani, Wo'lasi, and Choinok on the other.

The Apiachi are an obscure and extinct tribelet, living with the lower Kings River tribes, but somehow associated with the Tachi, from whom some of the older Indians now refuse to separate them. They lived north of Kings River and east of its outlet slough, at Wohui, beyond Telweyit or Summit Lake, in the direction of Elkhorn.

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Pitkachi, perhaps more accurately Pitkati (plural Pitakati or Pidekati) are said to have received their appellation from an evil-smelling salt or alkali of the same name, which they used to gather or prepare. This in turn is named after feces, *pidik*. They held the south side of the San Joaquin, living at Kohuou, near Herndon or Sycamore; at Weshiu, on a slough; and at Gewachiu, still farther downstream.

The Wakichi or Wa'kichi, plural Wakeyachi, were on the same side of the river but farther up, not quite opposite the Dumna, and just below the Kechayi. Holowichniu, near Millerton, was in their territory. This location would suggest that the Wakichi were part of the northern foothill group, but a few preserved phrases of their dialect indicate that it belonged to the valley division.

The Hoyima, Hoyim'a, or Hoyimha (plural Hoyeyami) were also on the San Joaquin where it still flows west, but opposite the Pitkachi; in other words, on the north side. They may have ranged as far as Fresno River. They had settlements at K'eliutanau, on a creek entering the San Joaquin from the north, and at Moyoliu above the mouth of Little Dry Creek. They were not without fighting proclivities, and at times engaged the Chauchila of the plains and the Chukchansi of the hills.

The Heuchi, Heuche, or Heutsi (plural Hewachinawi) had a large settlement at Ch'ekuyu, on Fresno River 4 miles below Madera. They were certainly on the north side of this stream and may have had both its lower banks.

The Chauchila or Chauchili, more correctly Chaushila or Chaushilha (plural Chaweshali), sometimes also called Toholo, "lowlanders, westerners," by the hill tribes, were in the plains along the several channels of Chowchilla River, in whose name their appellation is perpetuated. They lived at Shehammiu on this stream, apparently at the eastern edge of the plains, some miles below

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Buchanan. Halau, "cane," near Berenda, which may have been in their range or that of the Heuchi, recalls a town of the same name on far distant Kern Lake. The Chauchila may have been a populous tribe; they were certainly a warlike one, for their name is a byword for bravery to the southernmost end of Yokuts territory among tribes ignorant of the nearer Heuchi and Hoyima. It is frequently translated as "murderous," "cruel," or "aggressive"; but the nearest roots known are not very similar: Yaudanchi *tsoidj*, *toudj*, to die or kill, and *tsw* (*t* almost like *ch*), to overcome. Two mythical traditions told by the Yauelmani begin at Kamupau in Chumash territory beyond San Emigdio at the extreme head of the San Joaquin Valley, and progress, one to the ocean on the south, the other north to the Chauchila. Such a range of geographical knowledge, however vague, is quite unparalleled in California, except among the inquisitive and far-traveled Mohave, who, by the way, were also known to the Yokuts through visiting parties from across the desert and by reputation as a fighting people, and who quite correctly termed the Yokuts Kwalinyokosmachi, "tule sleepers."

The Chauchila are the first Yokuts tribe to have no upland neighbors of their own stock, the southern Miwok now being the easterners. They are also the last tribe, until Stockton is reached, concerning whom anything definite is known. In the plains along the Merced, Tuolumne, Stanislaus, and Calaveras Rivers, on the east bank of the lower San Joaquin, and perhaps on its west side also, were Yokuts. There are some names extant; but whether of tribes or towns, or where these were located, is doubtful. Some fragments of language, transmitted from several independent sources, show that there existed a variety of northern valley speech distinguished by a frequent change of *ss* and *s* to *b* and *d*; but again there is no certainty where these dialects were spoken. There are known in this region the Nupchinche or Noptinte, not located; the Tawalimni, presumably on Tuolumne River, which appears to be named from them; the Lakisamni, perhaps to be connected with Takin (for Lakiu?) rancheria at Dents or Knights Ferry on the Stanislaus; the Siakumne; and Hannesuk, which sounds like a Miwok place name, but is given as a tribe and placed in territory that was probably Yokuts. Some names can be identified as generically denoting any inhabitants in certain directions, such as Nututamne and Kosmitas or Xosmitamne, Yokuts for "upstream people" and "northern people," respectively; and Tammukamne, Miwok for "northerners." Others, like Yachik, Yachikamne, or Yachimesi, refer only to village sites or the inhabitants of particular places, instead of being tribal names. And still others, like Coconoon, an anciently mentioned group on Merced River, whose vocabulary proves to have been Yokuts, are utterly hopeless, unless one is ready to take such random shots as to identify this term with Goguni, a spot said to have marked the extreme northern or upland range of the Chauchila. The early travelers often encountered these northernmost Yokuts far from their homes or at the missions, and rarely cared or were able to record their exact habitat. At the present time, when an old Indian can be found who remembers a few words of the Yokuts speech of his father or grandfather, he has usually forgotten the name of the tribe, or, if he remembers this, is in ignorance or in patent error of its former location. A similar darkness reigns concerning the Wintun, Maidu, Miwok, and Costanoan groups once on or near San Francisco Bay. In short, regrettable as the fact is, we can scarcely hope ever to have wholly accurate or full information concerning these tribes.

Conditions are a little better for knowledge of the last and probably most northerly Yokuts tribe, the Chulamni, who apparently are the group that fre-

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101 quents the older sources under the designations of Tcholovone and Cholo-
103 vomne. Fortune preserved until recently a few individuals of this tribe, who
131 retained a reasonable command of their forefathers' speech. This, on comparison with the Chauchila dialect, has proved to be typical Yokuts of the northern valley group, making the appurtenance of the intervening tribes to the same group substantially certain. The Chulamni inhabited Yachik and Wana near Stockton, the latter just below the landing. Their territory extended at least

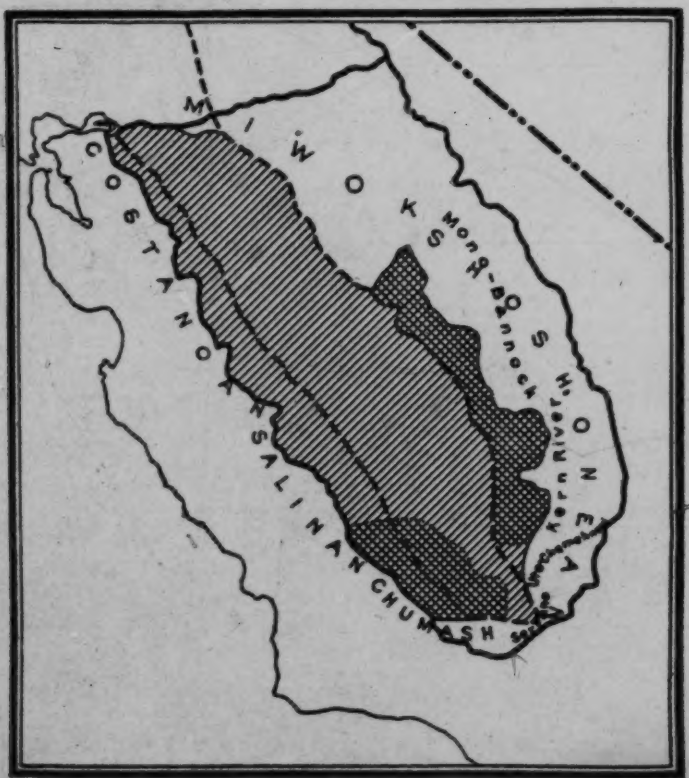

FIG. 43.—Yokuts topography, distribution, and neighbors. The heavy line marks the San Joaquin-Tulare drainage; the broken line, the level San Joaquin Valley. Territory of Yokuts of valley division in hatching; of foothill division in cross-hatching.

some miles down the San Joaquin and up the Calaveras; probably also across the former stream, possibly as far west as Mount Diablo.

SPEECH AND TOPOGRAPHY.

101 The very remarkable relation of the Yokuts habitat and of their
131 speech divisions to topography is shown in Figure 43. It is clear that they are essentially a valley people. Not only do they hold the whole

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of the San Joaquin Valley floor but their extension into the hills is of the slightest. The higher Sierra Nevada everywhere, and the lower slopes in the north, are in the possession of alien nations. 101 131

Equally significant is the almost perfect correspondence between topography and speech. The valley dialects are absolutely confined to the plains, except for a small part of the range of the Yauelmani in the extreme south. The foothill group of dialects is restricted with equal exactness to the hills, except where the three southwestern tribes, finding the lee side of the Coast Range too barren for their subsistence, appear to have come down into the adjacent tule swamps. The correlation between speech and soil surface is so rigid that causes of such potency must be inferred to have been operative as could scarcely have prevailed to this extent among the Yokuts without being of some influence elsewhere. Indeed it seems, as already pointed out, that lines of dialectic cleavage followed the edge of the plains in the Sacramento Valley, among Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun. On the other hand, it is dangerous to reason from the mass conditions of the great valley, flanked by the massive, unbroken wall of the Sierra, to circumstances obtaining in regions of more irregular topography. Several Pomo dialects, for instance, extend practically unchanged over belts of coast, timber, valley, mountain, and inland waters. 101 133 197

It is also clear from Figure 43 how much more diversified the foothill tribes were than those of the valley. Holding barely a fifth of the area of the stock, they comprised about one-half of the tribes, and five out of seven of its dialect groups. The diversity of surface in the hill country is only partially responsible. Of more moment, probably, is the fact that the foothill tribes, happening to constitute a fringe, were thrown into more intimate contact with their alien neighbors dwelling higher on the same slope of the Sierra Nevada, and thus had stimulated in them those unconscious influences toward change of language that only association with the foreigner seems to bring. 101 197 [177]

It is difficult to look at this map, with its enormous solid nucleus of valley, and defend oneself from the impression that this is the original home of the Yokuts group, and that the border foothill tribes represent an upland spilling over. This would be contrary to the view sometimes entertained that the Yokuts once occupied the entire basin to its summit, and were in process of being gradually driven to the center by Shoshonean pressure. From the Yokuts side the appearance is rather of an expansion of this stock and a pushing back of Shoshoneans who previously might have held all of the mountains and perhaps the southern end of the valley.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to decide. Either alternative looks plausible as the evidence is approached from one aspect or the

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other. What is most likely is that a condition nearly of equilibrium between the two stocks has been maintained for a long time. The four or five Shoshonean divisions of quite diversified speech did not all crowd westward over the watershed in any short period; nor did the specialized Yokuts foothill dialects, no matter how much effect we allow to topography and foreign association, spring up in two or three centuries.

DESIGNATIONS OF THE STOCK.

The name "Yokuts" is taken from a native word for person or people, appearing as *yokoch* and in similar forms in a number of the dialects of the stock. The Spanish Tulareños, "people of the rush marshes," coincides very closely with modern Yokuts in its ethnic application. Mariposan is a book name, happily moribund, since it is equally arbitrary and erroneous. The Indians of Mariposa County are Miwok, not Yokuts. Foreign Indian names are few. The Costanoans at San Juan Bautista called the Yokuts Yawisun; the Chumash of Ventura, Chminimolich, "northerners"; the Mohave, Kwalinyo-kosmachi, "tule sleep."

YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIA POPULATION.

The problem of the size of Yokuts' population is crucial for the question of what the number of California Indians may have been, but unfortunately it seems impossible of entirely accurate solution.

The prime factor of uncertainty is the size of the tribe. Two hundred and fifty souls seems an overconservative estimate. There may have been tribes that surpassed 500. On the other hand, this latter figure appears to be excessive as an average. It is difficult to say why, in the absence of any evidence bearing directly on the point; but the nature of the country, the descriptions of travelers, and the Indians' statements as to their great-grandfathers' customs, somehow leave the impression that the Yokuts tribe did not so very much exceed the usual California village community in populational strength. But again, the consistent adherence to the principle that each tribe possessed its peculiar dialect warns against setting the figure very low. Three to four hundred persons is perhaps the soundest estimate that can be made, and with 50 or nearly 50 tribes, this would yield from 15,000 to 20,000 souls for the entire group.

Mission records are of little aid, for although there were Yokuts at nearly all of the church establishments from San Luis Obispo to San Francisco, and a number of tribal names can be recognized, statistics are for the total at one mission at one time. San Antonio may have harbored more Yokuts than Salinan neophytes when secularization came, but the proportions of the two national elements are obscure. It also seems impossible to ascertain how exhaustively the Franciscans drew upon the tribes that they tapped,

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or how long certain of these were under mission influence. There were Tachi brought across the mountains, but whether the whole tribe was moved or only a fraction, whether it remained a generation or only a few years, no one seems able to say. It is only known that the valley tribes from about the Fresno River northward were removed and missionized almost completely, and that their early virtual extinction was due to the effects of this process.

Nor do figures for the twentieth century population of the stock yield any approach to fixed conclusions for the eighteenth. The Federal census of 1910, the first that attempted to concern itself with such matters, reports only 583 Yokuts. The most widely spread stock in California, after the Shoshonean, to-day ranks twelfth in numbers. Not only Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun, but small localized groups like the Yurok, Karok, and Washo surpass the Yokuts. However much the estimate of original population be scaled down, it is evident that factors of most unfortunate potency have been at work. One such, and of proved fatality, is the concentration of mission life; but it is insufficient, for the southern and eastern Yokuts escaped it. It was apparently their open valley habitat, or at best hill abode, that crushed the Yokuts, through making them more readily and unmitigatedly accessible to the white man. In the mountains, civilization advanced slowly, or receded after the first rush of miners. The Indian shrank back, but had numberless corners left to himself. In the plains, the farmer followed hard on the pioneer, the soil was broken, fences began to stretch, and before long railroads ran their course and cities flourished. There was no way for the native to escape the full brunt of civilization; and it melted him away. In the Sacramento Valley the Plains Maidu and Wintun have vanished, compared with their fellows in the hills. Against 600 Sierra Miwok there are not two dozen of the plains division. More distinctively a lowland people than any of these, the Yokuts as a whole have been more reduced. All they have preserved better is the purity of their blood. The infrequency of half-breeds among them is noticeable; and the census that makes one-half or more of the Wintun, Maidu, and Miwok population mixed blood, credits at least three-fourths of the Yokuts with purity of strain.

If any doubt remains as to the strength of the factor of proximity to centers of Caucasian population, in rapidly diminishing Indian numbers, the Mono clinch the argument. Eastern neighbors of the Yokuts in the higher Sierra and the desert beyond it, they numbered at most a quarter or a third, perhaps not a fifth as many. To-day they are the largest group in California, and total nearly three souls for every living Yokuts.

The survivors, then, tell us nothing of the strength of their ancestors, because the wastage has been too excessive. The fragments are

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161 too small for an estimate of the original block. The remnant may be 2 per cent or 5. It does not help to answer the question.

101 This uncertainty weakens one of the potentially strongest lines of
161 evidence that might bear on the problem of the ancient population of California. The Yokuts held a full tenth, possibly an eighth, of the area of the State. If we knew their numbers, a simple multiplication, corrected by an allowance for productivity of the soil under native exploitation, would yield a total that would be of value for controlling estimates derived by other methods. Groups of narrower range or numbers do not justify the application of such procedure; conditions are too unrepresentative. The Yurok, for instance, owned barely one-half of 1 per cent of the area of California, the Chemehuevi perhaps 5 per cent: ratios that, with what is known of their numbers, would give in the one case well over half a million and in the other much less than 50,000 for the State.

161 However, the almost lost opportunity may be essayed. Say 18,000 Yokuts in a ninth of California: 162,000 Indians once in the State. Or, taking the highest possible figures, 25,000 in a tenth, gives 250,000 as a maximum limit.

Then comes the correction. There undoubtedly were areas more densely populated than the average of the Yokuts habitat: the Santa Barbara Islands, stretches of the shore fronting them, certain valleys in the coast region, the district of the lower Klamath. There were probably as many Pomo on Clear Lake as Yokuts on much larger Tulare Lake. But these areas of concentration were small. It was apparently precisely the fact of their confinement that brought about the density. The additions to be made to the total on account of distinctly heavier population are therefore not very great in the aggregate.

The deductions to be made for a sinking of the Yokuts ratio in less favorable regions are more considerable. A full third of the State is thorough desert, substantially desert, high mountains, bare lava flow, or dense timber. In all these environments the population was of the slenderest. Generally such regions were not even inhabited except in oasislike spots; and that the maps in the present and other volumes show continuous territories rather than these significant oases is not because the entire areas have been thought to be inhabited, but because ignorance of precise conditions of habitation has rendered other delineation impracticable for most of the State. Everything east of the Sierra, its entire upper portion, a solid three-fourths of southern California, most of the northeastern angle of the State, and a number of tracts in the coast ranges, belong to these thinly populated regions, which loom broadly enough to bring down by at least a fourth any total computed from the rate prevailing in more favored regions.

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Let us balance this reduction by the smaller additions and say that not a fourth but a fifth must be taken from the multiplicative total. That diminishes by 32,000 our apparently soundest estimate of 162,000 and gives for the native population of the State 130,000, or about eight times the present number of full bloods and mixed bloods combined. At any rate, there is a high degree of probability that the actual figure fell between 100,000 and 150,000. The maximum limit under the same process falls from 250,000 to 200,000, or less than almost all published estimates.

We have one check on the estimate of 300 to 400 souls per Yokuts tribe that underlies this total. In 1806 Moraga marched up half the length of the San Joaquin Valley and returned with the names of more than 20 groups and estimates of their numbers. Most of these must have been Yokuts, and about half of them can be identified.

YOKUTS.	
Nupchenche (Noptinte)	250
Piscache (Pitkachi)	200
Aycuyche (Aiticha)	60
Tunctache (Chunotachi)	250
Notonto (Nutunutu)	800
Do	100
Telame (Telamni)	600
Do	200
Uholasi (Wowulasi)	100
Eagueya (Gawia)	300
Cohocha (Yokol?)	100
Choynogue (Choinok)	300
Tahualampe (Yauelmani?)	200
Coyehete (Koyeti)	400
	3,360

YOKUTS OR OTHER.	
Chineguia	250
Yunate	250
Chamuasi	250
Latelate	200
Lachuo	200
Ecsas	100
Ehiaja	100
Xayuase	100
Capatau	10
Hual	400
Cutucha (Coltoche)	400
	2,260
Total	5,620

Five thousand six hundred and twenty people in 23 groups yield an average of less than 250; or, if we divide the 3,360 known to have been Yokuts by 12, the result is 280 per tribe. The earliest observer's estimate is a fifth less than the figure of 300 to 400—say, 350—assumed above. There is thus every reason to believe that the total computed for California does not err on the side of parsimony.

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CHAPTER 33.

THE YOKUTS: SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

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CULTURE.

The extinction of the northern valley tribes prevents their being included in the following account of Yokuts life, which is accordingly confined to those members of the family who live south of the Miwok, or approximately those shown in Plate 47. When such and such customs are ascribed to "the northern Yokuts," the tribes of the upper San Joaquin region are therefore referred to, notably the Chukchansi, who survive in the greatest numbers. Under "southern Yokuts" all the tribes from Kaweah River south may generally be understood, although most of the information relates to the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani. For the "central" tribes of the lake region and the sloughs of lower Kings River the Tachi may be taken as typical. It is regrettable that so little knowledge survives concerning the Yokuts of the lower San Joaquin, as their practices must have been different from those of their southerly kinsmen at many points. Living almost in contact with the Wintun and Maidu, and between the Miwok and Costanoans, it is practically certain that they shared the Kuksu and other ceremonies of the ritual system which is common to these groups and centered in the first-named stock. The Yokuts south of the San Joaquin performed ceremonies of entirely different type. This lack of similarity is probably typical of many other distinctions which can only be suspected.

MARRIAGE.

Marriage was a comparatively informal affair all the way from the Chukchansi to the Yauelmani, though payment was always made for the bride, sometimes by as high as a hundred *chok* measures of beads. A father might send his son to a prospective son-in-law of his choice, with instructions to address him as his brother-in-law. Or a man might suggest to a friend that they be *maksi*—parents of a married couple. The bridegroom would then appear, but if the girl remon-

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strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. 584
If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. 591
This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably 611
all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy 595
was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except 582
perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were [191]
bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They 606
avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict 582
rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social divi- 616
sion. These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically [611]
associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley 616
tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and [184]
Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

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616 cial trait. It is therefore remarkable that their southern tribes know nothing of the scheme.

This seems the more probable from the forms of the system. The Miwok divide all nature into two halves. Every individual's name has some expressed or connoted reference to one of the infinitely numerous animals or objects of the world's moiety that corresponds to his own social moiety. With the Yokuts only a limited number of animals are associated with each division. One of these is held as hereditary totem by every paternally descended family. The names of the people in such a line of descent have no connection [825] with the totem animal, but every individual in the family regards his inherited animal as his "dog"—the one word which the Indian possesses for the idea of "domestic animal" or "pet captive." The Yokuts totemism is thus more direct and emphatic than that of the Miwok, and to this degree may priority in its formulation be attributed to them.

[614] The Yokuts lines of male descent with the same totem obviously resemble clans. They fall short, however, of being clans in that they are not involved in marriage or exogamy, the moiety being the sole regulating factor in these matters, and in that they bear no group names.

This plan of social duality runs at right angles across the many [582] lines of tribal cleavage. The halves are the same, or are equated, everywhere; and a man marrying outside of his tribe confines himself to the opposite moiety exactly as if he chose his spouse at home.

The names of the moieties are the same in all the Yokuts tribes among which they have been recorded: *Tohelyuwish* and *Nutuwish*. *Tohil* signifies "downstream," which varies locally from south to [193] west and northwest; *not*, the opposite direction; *-u-wish* is a reflexive ending forming abstract nouns and names of practices and institutions.

The border Yokuts identify their moieties with the Miwok ones, and in case of intermarriage between the two peoples there is never a question about the proper correspondence of the divisions. The names, too, are similar, but, strangely, rather opposite. The Yokuts "upstream" is the Miwok "water" half, and "downstream" is the equivalent of "land."

The wide-range cleavage implied by this terminology, with its essential polarity, confirms the impression which is given by other features of the Miwok-Yokuts system, that it inherently has a dual ground plan, with the animal totems as an auxiliary development, and that it is not an organization of decayed clans secondarily grouped into moieties.

616 The representative animal of the *Tohelyuwish* division is the eagle.
825 Of birds, there further belong the raven and crow, blue jay, road run-

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ner, and killdeer. Of quadrupeds, the bear is most prominent. Fox, wild cat, jack rabbit, beaver, and antelope are of the same group. 616 825

Coyote is the most conspicuous animal on the *Nutuwish* side. Associated with him are the *limik* or falcon, the buzzard, several species of hawks and owls, the quail, and the skunk.

In Yokuts legendary traditions tales of contests and competitions for superiority abound, which may in many cases reflect this totemic duality. Of this sort are struggles between the falcon and raven, coyote and eagle, condor and eagle, and between the deer of the upstream hills and the antelope of the downstream plains. In all these cases, except where the falcon is involved, the downstream animal triumphs. Only in a war of the uplanders against the lake people is coyote successful. In certain other tales the personages are not in opposition, but are all or nearly all of one division. Thus one tale tells of the deeds of coyote, falcon, and white owl; another of coyote, hawk, condor, and owl; a third of eagle, crow, road runner, and fox, with the lone coyote as a disturbing coadjutor; and so on. 616 773 825

It is even possible that the totemic affiliation of certain animals that are as yet unplaced in the social organization of the modern Yokuts can be reasonably predicted from the mythology. This applies not only to the deer and condor, but to the dog, the wood rat, the humming bird, the mountain quail, the woodpecker, and the spider on the *Nutuwish* side; while it seems almost as if in the legends of the southern Yokuts—although the institution itself is lacking—the falcon had been transferred from this to the *Tokelyuwish* division.

A Yokuts does not ask a stranger whether he is *Nutuwish* or *Tokelyuwish*, nor what his moiety may be, but: "What is your dog!" 616 609

As bear doctors speak of the grizzly bear as their "dog," a connection between the moiety animals and the guardian spirits of shamans might be imagined. The Yokuts, however, specifically distinguish between their inherited totemic animals, which they sometimes keep in captivity but which confer no distinctive powers on their persons, and the animals, spirits, or monsters that the impending shaman dreams of or encounters in a trance. 616 825 [187]

The balance of opposition between animals of the two moieties that runs through the legends has institutional parallels among the Yokuts themselves. Thus, formal games were between moieties. Each moiety had a distinctive style of body paint. In mourning rites the divisions acted reciprocally. From the Chukchansi to the Tachi, and perhaps farther, there was an eagle ceremony. The bird was killed by the coyote division, redeemed and received with manifestations of grief by the moiety of which it was representative. 616 796 825

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This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

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chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group.

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion.

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiauta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures.

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people.

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts

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727 scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

436 Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the 436 *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the 804 south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the 184 *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.

Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of 436 univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or [439] *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south, probably from the Chumash.

GREETINGS.

576 There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *ma-wit hide*, "you, hello"; more literally, "you, where?"

805 Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *P'a'an tanshi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

844 A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane [184] or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of 846 a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel, and others for several months.

841 The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be con- [831] nected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.

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There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska.

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives.

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre.

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion

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765 came to him, would buy himself free with a larger amount. Among all the Yokuts, parents and spouses were subject to this fast, and sons, daughters, and grandparents exempt; some tribes extended the practice also to brothers, sisters, or near relatives by marriage.

[174] Burning the hair short in mourning is a practice which the Yokuts share with all Californian and many other American peoples. As is also usual, men sacrificed less of this adornment than women. The central Californian custom which required a wife to pitch her face and not remove same for a year or until the next annual mourning ceremony, has been reported only from the Chukchansi. The Yaudanchi mourners merely refrained from washing or scraping their face during the briefer period in which they ate no meat.

764 The body of the dead was not only bewailed but sung over and danced for by the bereaved and the professional mourners or *tongochim*. After each song the latter clapped their hands and the relatives, still standing up, resumed their crying.

The Tachi held a more elaborate ceremony, known as *tonochmin hatim*, "Tonochims' dance," on the occasion of the first gathering

[293] after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called *yakeyaknan*, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

769 Toward the end of summer an annual public mourning ceremony was held, called *lakinan*, *lakinanit*, or *tawadjnawash*. This undoubtedly had the greatest hold on the minds of the Yokuts of any of their rituals. It continued for several nights on lines similar to the crying, dancing, and singing over the unburied dead, the *tongochim* taking the same part. The last night ended in a spectacular climax with a destruction of property in honor of the departed, plus special features that varied from tribe to tribe.

Among the Yaudanchi, the mourners, who have been indoors or under a shade while the *tongochim* have been dancing, notify the lat-

[532] ter, through the official herald, of their coming. They then approach carrying frames or figures dressed to represent the dead. Standing inside the circle of singing *tongochim*, they sway the images as if to thrust them into the fire that burns in the middle. At the end of each song the *tongochim* clap and the mourners burst into wails. After daybreak the figures are finally burned, and beads, baskets,

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and other property are tossed to the *tongochim*, who though already liberally paid, are entitled to keep all that they secure in the scramble. Other valuables are burned with the images.

The use of effigies is of interest because duplicated among many remote groups, but appears not to be participated in by such Yokuts tribes as the Chukchansi or Tachi. Among the latter, after dancing until morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying.

Among the Chukchansi the ritual of the final night takes on many features of the corresponding practices of the neighboring Miwok, whose *yalaka* ceremony they identify with their own *lakinan*. There are two fires, one for the men, the other for the women. The chief is posted at the latter, whence he delivers loud orations, in a peculiar abrupt enunciation. Such "preaching," as the Indians now term it, is indulged in on ceremonial occasions also by the Pomo, the Patwin, the Maidu, the Mohave, the Luiseño, and no doubt most other tribes in the State. Around each fire dancing goes on in a contraclockwise circle, the men holding poles from which hang valuables, the women baskets, and the singers standing outside the circles. Once during the night, and again toward morning, the men and women change to each others' fires. Finally the displayed property is burned in the men's fire. This act is called *tulo* or *yuyalin*, and marks the end of the ceremony. After this the visitors are paid by the residents of the town for purifying them by washing them with water in which a scented plant, *mechini*, has been steeped.

A joyous aftermath during the ensuing day marks the definite cessation of mourning. This is the *ka'm* or *wotii*, meaning simply dance. The step of this, indeed, is the same as that practiced by the *tongochim* during the preceding funerary ritual, and in fact over the unburied dead. It consists of an alternate high lifting of each leg at intervals of a second or less and stamping it down with violence, the performers meanwhile standing still or traveling in a circle. On this occasion of pleasurable reaction the dancers are for the first time painted—the men black, the women red, among the Yandanchi—and they wear, so far as they possess them, the most elaborate and distinctive of Yokuts regalia: high crowns of crow and long magpie feathers, and skirts of strings of eagle down. Among the Chukchansi the men line up in a row, the women behind them, both facing north. Man after man then pays a woman for taking her from her place, and the couple dance before the double row.

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CHAPTER 34.

THE YOKUTS: CULTS.

The Jimson weed initiation, 502; the rattlesnake ceremony, 504; other ceremonies, 506; ceremonial paraphernalia, 508; prayers, 509; mythology, 510; shamanism, 511; Mana, 512; source of the shaman's power, 513; disease and cure, 515; bear shamans, 516; rattlesnake shamans, 517; weather shamans, 518.

THE JIMSON WEED INITIATION.

Next to the great mourning ceremony of the Yokuts is to be ranked a boy's initiation, which centered around the narcotic, and therefore supernatural, effects of a drug pervading the roots of the Jimson weed, *Datura meteloides*, commonly known in California by its Mexican name, toloache.[1] The Yokuts called the plant *tanai* and the rite *tanyuwish*, which might be translated as "Jimson weeding."

The initiation was into manhood and tribal status, rather than to membership in any organization. It was therefore in a sense a boy's puberty ceremony, which was given a distinctive character by intoxication. The same type of ritual prevailed among all the Shoshoneans, and perhaps the Chumash, of southern California. Its occurrence among the Yokuts is only one of several instances of customs shared by them with the groups to the south.

To the west there are reports that the Salinan villages followed the cult, although it is unfortunately not wholly certain that they possessed the custom before the missionaries introduced Yokuts among them. To the north the Miwok did not drink Jimson weed: in fact, it probably grows little in their habitat. The northernmost Yokuts hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi, practiced the rite feebly, if at all, and the Chauchila are said to have refrained from it altogether. On the other hand, the Miwok declare that their Yokuts neighbors of the plains of Stanislaus River had a Jimson weed ceremony. The cult may have gone farther north than this, to the extreme tribes of the lowest San Joaquin, since the plant occurs as far north as Stock-

[1] W. E. Safford, Daturas of the Old World and New, Smithsonian Report for 1920, 537–567, 1922, gives the following Daturas: *D. meteloides*, Mexico, Utah, California, used by the Zuñi, Walapai, Luiseño, Yokuts; Aztec name, *coatlxoxuhqui*, "green snake weed," *ololiuhqui*, its seed. *D. discolor*, closely allied to *D. meteloides*, Mexico and southwestern U. S.; *toloache*; more common at Yuma than *D. meteloides* (and therefore probably the species employed by the Yuma and Mohave). *D. inoxia*, Mexico; Aztec name, *necoxcui* and *tolocatzin*. *D. stramonium*, Jamestown weed, Mexico and eastern U. S.; Aztec name *tlapatl*.

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ton in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate.

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young man and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk.

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened.

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray.

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881 276 The Jimson weed roots were crushed and soaked for some days. When the time for drinking came, the old man took the basket of liquid and said:

[539] Drink this water for Tüüsiut;
Drink this water for that Pamasiut;
Drink this water for that Yubahait.

Twice he moved the basket toward the novice; the third time he held it toward the novice's mouth. When all the boys had drunk, they were taken away from the village, to places where they would be undisturbed, by older men who watched over them. The boys seem to have slept off their intoxication outdoors; as an open-air affair, the ceremony was made during the dry season, apparently in spring.

The participants underwent the rite for their own good. The Jimson weed would give them health, long life, ability to dodge arrows in battle, and general prosperity.

If a boy vomited his dose of drug, it was taken as a sign that he would die, and his relatives paid the old master of ceremonies for praying to avert this threatening fate.

184 881 276 Such was the ritual among the southern Yokuts. The Dumna, among whom the participants were men, practiced it somewhat differently. The roots were shaved instead of pounded. The master of ceremonies is mentioned not as having prayed, but as singing, before giving the liquid. The drinking took place in the sweat house and was followed, before the intoxication took effect, by a brief dance of the participants. Men would experience or obtain [787] what they saw in their visions; the sight of beads would make the dreamer wealthy.

THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY.

796 756 Other public ceremonials of the Yokuts were in the hands of medicine men. They were not performed by participants following an anciently established ritual learned from preceding generations, nor by initiates into an esoteric cult or priesthood, but by shamans who, in their own persons, held communication with the source of the supernatural. The ceremonies were in essence a demonstration of the *tipni*, the magic power, possessed by these men—sometimes for the public good, at others merely as exhibitions.

The most spectacular of these shaman's performances was a rattlesnake ceremony, somewhat suggesting the famous snake dance of the Arizona Hopi. The Yokuts called this institution, according to dialect, *Daidangich*, *Datela*, or *Datlawash*, namely, "stepping on."

[787] Early in spring, before the snakes had come out, the *tüüdum* or men to whom a rattlesnake had spoken in their dreams, executed

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the rite in order that none of the people might be bitten during the ensuing year. Proceeding in a procession to a rattlesnake den, they stamped and whistled before it, the head shaman directly facing the hole, the others on the sides to cut off the return of such snakes as might falter at the impending ordeal.

Soon, it is said, the snakes would emerge, usually preceded, it was believed, by a large lizard, and, drawn on by the leading shaman, they crawled straight to his feet, where they buried themselves in a winnowing basket filled with eagle down. Each medicine man in turn pointed out the snake he considered his, distracted its attention by swinging his *wacham* or hand-feathers, seized it, and carried it off in a sack. The worst snake of the lot was left for the head "doctor."

In the evening the tribe gathered under the inevitable shade. While the singers chanted particular melodies to the accompaniment of cocoon rattles the snake shamans walked about whistling, each with his death-bearing sack. They wore down-filled head nets and were painted in alternate horizontal stripes of white and red drawn across the body and limbs. From time to time they placed their bags on the heads of spectators, declaring that thus they determined who was subject to snake bite during the year.

On the following day these prospective victims of the serpents are cured in anticipation in order to prevent their being bitten. Although their infection is entirely imaginary and future, it is treated by the snake shamans by their usual medical means of sucking. The doctors even profess to extract from the not yet existing wound the actual poison—usually a rat's tail or tooth or a small snake—which has already been injected into the body by the future piercing of the skin by the rattlesnake's fangs. This is certainly magic with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine a logic of causality more in conflict with our own.

This precaution for the health of the community having been taken, the snake shamans display their powers to the multitude. They play with the snakes, throw them about, tease them to anger, allow them to bite themselves, and even hold them out hanging by their fangs from the thumb or hand.

The *kuyohoch* or "shaman killers"—in California the doctor is also potentially a nefarious wizard—then appear. Pretending to be trying to shoot the rattlesnake shamans, they make these beg for their lives and pay ransom for being spared.

The last act of the ceremony, the "stepping" itself, is also costly to the shamans, who, far from exploiting the community through their powers, as we might anticipate, are forced to accumulate much property in order to pass through the rite. The rattlesnakes are now

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796 in a small hole outdoors. The people come with sticks from which
756 hang crude imitations of shell money; the chiefs' prerogative is to bear poles of such length that they can be made only by splicing. Everyone professes a strong wish to prod the snakes in the pit. The shamans feel equal alarm for the safety of their darlings, and purchase the lives of them by paying each man the equivalent in real money of the length of bark or rag on his stick.

Finally the entire community files past the hole, each man, woman, or child placing the right foot into or over it. This insures that for a year every approached snake will rattle in warning instead of striking blindly; and with this act the ceremony ends.

A rattlesnake ceremony song:

[539]

The king snake said to the rattlesnake:
Do not touch me!
You can do nothing with me.
Lying with your belly full,
Rattlesnake of the rock pile,
Do not touch me!
There is nothing you can do,
You rattlesnake with your belly full,
Lying where the ground-squirrel holes are thick.
Do not touch me!
What can you do to me?
Rattlesnake in the tree clump,
Stretched in the shade,
You can do nothing;
Do not touch me!
Rattlesnake of the plains,
You whose white eye
The sun shines on,
Do not touch me!

The implied idea probably is that the repetition of the words used by the king snake when he successfully defied and evaded his venomous opponent will bring about a recurrence of his safety for the human being who in his turn encounters a rattlesnake.

[184] Such was the Yaudanchi practice, which the Yauelmani, Tachi, and Kashowu approximated. Only the Chukchansi are again un-Yokuts-like and dispense with the ceremony.

OTHER CEREMONIES.

The *Heshwash*, or "hiding" ceremony, is a public intertribal contest of medicine men, who test their superiority in bewitching one another. The shamans dress as for a dance. In the evening they seat themselves in two parties under a shade, while special *heshwash* songs are sung to cocoon rattling and the expectant multitude watches. The performers try to inject their disease objects or "poi-

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son" into their opponents, and strike at each other with winnowing baskets. Often, when struck, they are able to extract the magic missile, but sometimes fail, whereupon the victors shout "*Wuwuwuwuwu!*" and receive pay for withdrawing their paralyzing power. On the first evening the performance is brief, a sort of warming up. The next night the shamans go at each other in earnest, and contend until morning. Although no public benefit whatever results, this rite appears to be rated more highly than the rattlesnake ceremony, on the ground that a greater number of medicine men participate. Shamans of special powers as opposed to bewitching and curative abilities do not enter the *heshwash:* rain, bear, and snake "doctors" stay out.

This contest of supernatural abilities has northern parallels; as among the Yuki in their *hulk'ilal* ceremonies. But the setting, meaning, and organization of the performances are different. In the one case there is a secret society of initiated impersonators; in the other an assembly of shamans with personally acquired powers. A nearer parallel is found among the Maidu shamans' competitions.

The *Ohowish* or "wishing" ceremony is also a pure demonstration of supernatural power. Sleight of hand is the central feature, as suggestion is in the *heshwash*. Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the *ohowish* medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

The medicine bags here referred to savor of Plains Indian ideas more than of native Californian practices; although there is Pomo parallel.

The *Heshwash* and *Ohowish* extend from the southernmost tribes at least to the Tachi and Gashown; the habits of the Chukchansi are not known.

The *Ha'ishat* is a nonshamanistic dance, whose relation to other ceremonies, or purpose other than pleasure, has not become clear. A place and time, perhaps 12 days ahead, are appointed. The invitees then busy themselves securing quantities of food, laden with which they start out, and make camp for the night a mile or more away from the designated spot. In the morning the entire tribe, men, women, and children, every one carrying his pack of provisions, dance in a long single file, to the usual Yokuts "piston-rod step," all the way in to the meeting place. This must have been a most pic-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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535 527 turesque spectacle when several tribes gathered at once; but it has the appearance of being only a prelude.

CEREMONIAL PARAPHERNALIA.

292 237 [301] The eternal yellow-hammer forehead bands of the California Indians are not lacking among the Yokuts; but the characteristic dance costume of these tribes comprised the *chohun*, a skirt of strings of eagle down, and the *djuh*, a tall headdress of tail plumes of magpies, encircled at the base by crow feathers (Fig. 44). The eagle-down skirt extends across the Sierra to the Shoshonean tribes as far east as Death Valley (Pl. 42). It has not been reported from any part [171] of interior California other than the Yokuts, and in southern California its place is taken by a skirt of large eagle feathers. In this garment we have thus to recognize either a local development or an influence from the Great Basin. The magpie and crow headdress is found, with some slight variation, among the Maidu and Patwin; and it may accordingly be assumed for the intervening Miwok also, though not yet reported from them. With the Maidu, this ornament is part of the apparel of god impersonators, such as the *Sili* and Bear spirit; among the Yokuts, who do not indulge in such esoteric representations, it is worn in the mourning dance, in the complementary dance of rejoicing, and by shamans. It is a familiar fact that the same article or element of civilization is frequently utilized for widely different purposes, and in quite diverse connections or meanings, by distinct nations.

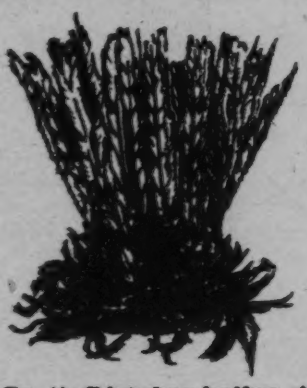

FIG. 44.—Yokuts dance headdress of magpie and crow feathers.

292 237 301 The *djuh* was held in place by a stick jammed through its base and the hair as bunched under a tightly drawn head net—the usual central Californian device for fastening large feather ornaments to the head. The *chohun* was made from the down of a large water bird, called *goldat* by the valley tribes, when they experienced difficulty in securing a sufficient supply of eagles. Sticks tipped with the showy crest feathers of the mountain quail were passed through the pierced ear lobes.

293 237 301 Two other ornaments were much used by the Yokuts: the *wachum* and the *notsut*. The former was a loose bunch of feathers carried in the hand and swinging with every motion; the latter, a belt, also worn as leg band, of strings of twisted hair cut off by mourners. This

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

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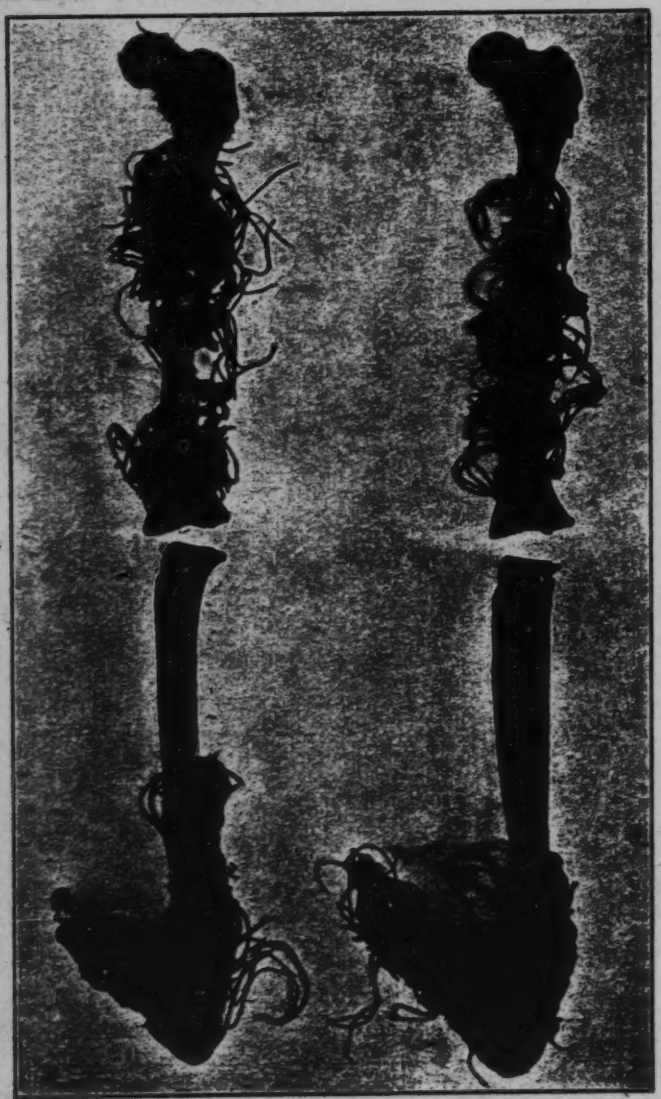

CORD-WRAPPED LEG REMAINS, BUENA VISTA LAKE

[p. 508(A)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Shoshone NT22
Luiseno NS14

W
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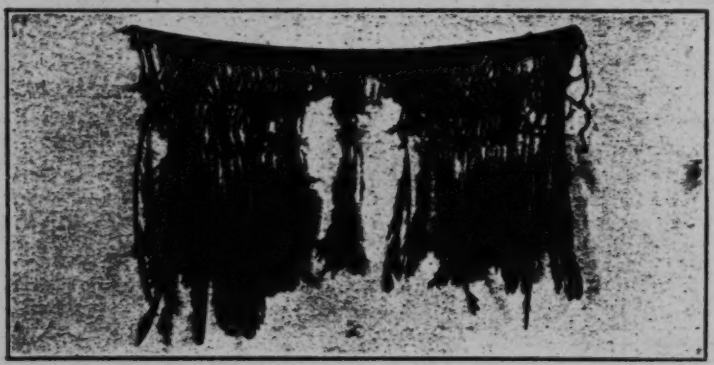

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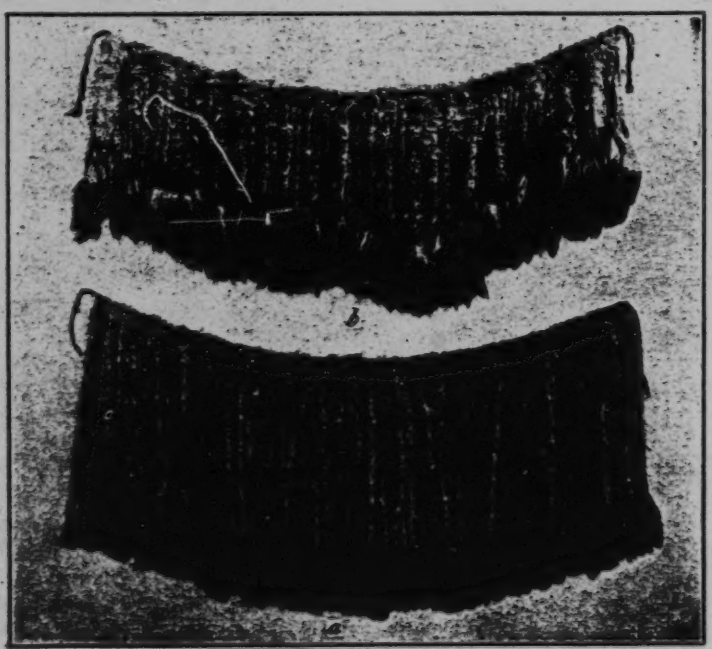


FEATHER DANCE SKIRTS

a, Kern; b, Yokuts; c, Luiseño

[p. 508(B)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

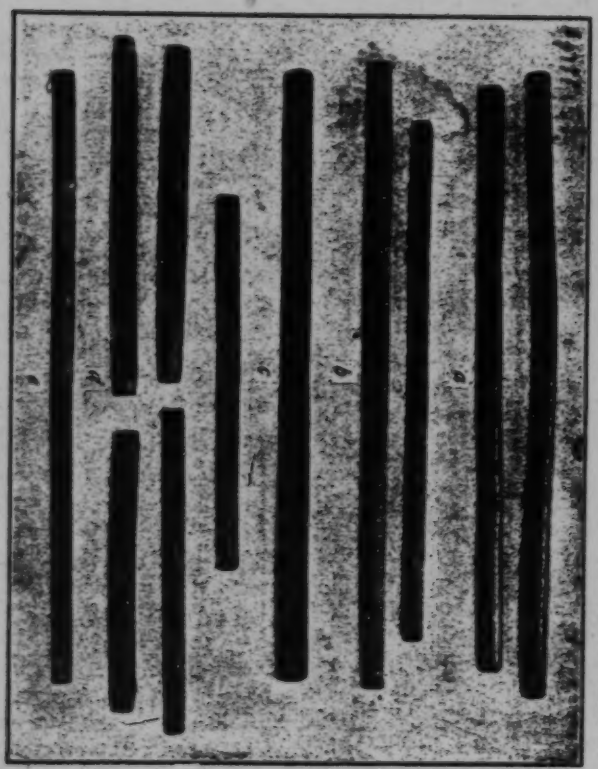
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Pomo NS 18

Miwok NS16

Karok NS12

YPMK 534



BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

BULLETIN 78 PLATE 43

FLUTES

a, Yuma; b, Yokuts; c, Miwok; d, Pomo; e, Karok

[p. 508(C)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Luiseno NS14
Pomo NS18
Serrano NS20
Wintun NS26

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Y
L
P
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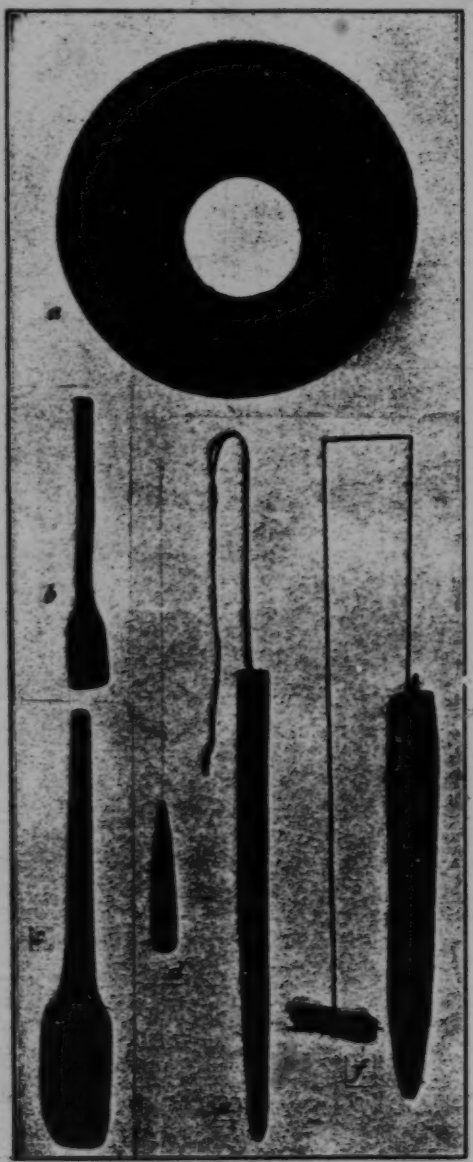

a, Klamath mortar hopper. Acorn pestles: b, Diegueño; c, Northern Wintun. Bulb crushers: d, Yokuts; e, Luiseño; f, Pomo

[p. 508 D]

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hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points.

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *huhuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.)

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture.

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired.

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode.

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts.

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MYTHOLOGY.

773 776 Yokuts mythology lacks the organization and leaning toward spirituality that characterize native beliefs in the region of the Sacramento Valley. Traditions are not built into a system, and speculation as to the mystery of the world and life is not even naïvely profound. The creators are all animals, with the Eagle at their head as wise and dignified chief. The Coyote is his presuming assistant, often ridiculous, at times inefficient; on other occasions, when not in direct competition with his chief, possessed of strange powers. He brings disaster into the world only rarely; death is the result of the Meadowlark's folly, or the desire of the insect Kokwiteit; but Coyote assents. He aids in securing fire, in stealing the sun for the future world, and advises the Eagle to send the Duck to dive for the earth from the primeval stump which alone projects from the universal first water. A favorite figure is *Limik*, the swiftly swooping Falcon, silent, determined, wise, a warrior, whose only food is tobacco, and whose supernatural abilities are great; but a victim in gambling. His coadjutor is his friend the Raven. The Condor is a plotter, a cannibal and robber, but he is overcome by the Falcon, and by the Eagle when he threatens the latter's supremacy. The Owl is a powerful shaman, the Antelope the swift runner who wins from Deer and helps to steal fire. The Hummingbird is Coyote's son, who excels his makeshift father.

This animal pantheon, varied and distinctive as it is, seems strange as set against the more abstract deities of the Maidu, the Wintun, and the Yuki; or had this aspect as long as it was believed that the Miwok alone observed totemism. Now that it is known that this set of beliefs extends to most of the Yokuts also, their traditions, uncoordinated as they remain on the surface, are perhaps more than mere fanciful beast fables, and may fit into a scheme more or less allied to the totemic classification and its connected dualistic plan of chieftainship, marriage, and ritual.

776 171 The southern Californian concepts of the god that dies—Wiyot, Matavilya, Tuchaipa—of the first Sky father and Earth mother; and of the birth and wanderings of mankind; together with many associated episodic incidents, are all lacking among the Yokuts—totally, it would appear. It is clear that mythically a sharp cleavage separates the San Joaquin Valley from the southern end of the State, and that the southwestern influences which have so profoundly permeated the tribes of the latter region, both in traditions and ritual, have not transcended the barrier of the Tehachapi.

[171] The Yokuts Jimson weed puberty rite has already been referred to as of southern origin. The most specific development of this religion, however, a later cult developed by the Gab[illegible]lino and spread

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

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out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity Chungichnish or any equivalent.

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On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following:

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Do you see me!
See me, Tïïshhut!
See me, Pamashhut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echepat!
See me, Pitsuriut!
See me, Tenkit!
See me, Ukut!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

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The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, "maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshich gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes

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used as if a synonym, seems to have been the name of an individual of unusual repute in these matters who lived at or near Tejon about two generations ago. Perhaps his appellation too was at bottom a generic one.

The *ohowich*, the "willing" or "seeking" doctor, has already been mentioned. The bear doctor is called simply "grizzly bear," *noho'o* or *ngoho'o*, according to dialect.

MANA.

Supernatural power, beings, or things are called by all the Yokuts *tipni* or *chipni:* a word from which Tachi *tuponot* is probably derived by one of the vowel mutations characteristic of the language. The word *tipni* itself is likely to be connected with *tipin*, "above," in a spatial sense, or "top, high, sky, up." It is the obvious equivalent of *mana*, *orenda*, *wakanda*, and *manitou*. In some usages the term clearly refers to beings, monsters, or spirits. In other connections it is said that a man, say a shaman, is *tipni* or possibly that he has *tipni*. In the above prayer to the seven gods, the word seems to mean "with supernatural power"; but a translation by "supernatural ones" is also possible. Altogether, it is clear that *tipni* is used indifferently as a noun and as an adjective; and that it is employed, according to circumstance, to denote spirits, supernatural or monstrous beings of any sort, men who possess spiritual or magical power, and, if indications are not deceiving the essence or power or quality itself.

This diversity of usage seems to be as characteristic of the more familiar synonyms in other languages as of Yokuts *tipni;* and it follows, therefore, that the question of whether these words denote rather an essence or a definite personalized spirit in the literal sense is not a problem to be settled by psychological interpretation, but one for which the tools and knowledge of the philologist are indispensable, and that the latter's answer is likely to be that the terms are used with both meanings and adjectively as well as substantively; with reference on one occasion to quality, on others, to personality. There must have been a time when our own word "spirit" was capable of denoting in one sentence the breath itself, the physical flow of air from the lungs, and in the next an immaterial thing resembling the entire body of a man but possessed of faculties that do not belong to the body. Just so, to-day and among ourselves, "spirit" at times indubitably denotes such an anthropomorphic but intangible personality, and nothing else; at others, an abstract and impersonal essence or quality or force. It would be rash to maintain that its real meaning in our minds and in our civilization was only one of these two aspects and that when used in the other sense

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it was so used as a conscious metaphor or from deliberate desire to present as personal something known to be impersonal, or as general something known to be specifically limited. It is just as strained, or more so, to force this alternative on the less developed and simpler terminology of uncivilized people.

The choice that has been made between the understanding of *mana*, *orenda*, or *manitou* as denotive of an essence, or of a particularized ghostlike personality, has done violence to a distinctive quality of the concepts residing in these words, namely, their undifferentiated poise between our two extreme formulations. A native who has learned the significance of our phrases "essence," "pervading quality," "intangible diffused power," will of his own accord give these definitions for his own concept; but at other times he will as blithely render it by "spirit" in the sense of something limited, personal, and spatial.

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With the Chukchansi, *beniti* means clairvoyant, and among the Yauelmani *suhua* denotes the faculty of magical creation out of nothing by means of blowing.

A ghost is *hichwaiu* or *hitwaia* to the Yokuts. The soul is called *ilit* by the Tachi. The word for heart, *honhon* or *honghong*, is not used in this sense.

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There is bare possibility that shamanism, the individual relation of persons to what is *tipni*, is distantly related to the totemic observances and beliefs of the Yokuts, but specific evidences of direct connections are rare. One of the few is the coincidence that both the "pet" or captive or totemic animal, and the doctor's guardian spirit from whom his *tipni* power emanates, are called *puus* or *cheshesh*, "dog"; *cheshesh nim ngohoo*, "my dog is the grizzly bear," a Yaudanchi bear shaman says. But again, poverty of vocabulary can not be relied upon to prove a common growth of institutions.

SOURCE OF THE SHAMAN'S POWER.

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The northern California idea of shamanistic power is bound up with the notion of control over small, animate, disease-bearing objects, these material "pains" having many of the faculties of spirits. This special form of the nearly universal concept that sickness is produced by an injected substance is not even in rudiment a part of the San Joaquin Valley culture. The Yokuts shaman owns a spirit. This may be a monster, or an animal that turns into a man, or possibly a permanently disembodied spirit. It is certainly most often one of the two former. It may be met in actuality, or dreamed of, or both. But it is a being, with an independent existence, and with a defined relation between it and the medicine man; not a little noxious thing, a sort of animated fetish or amulet, that he swallows and keeps inside his body.

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Shamanistic power among the Yokuts comes both unsought and to men desirous of acquiring it. It is most commonly derived from animals or monsters inhabiting the water, or from their appearances in dreams after their haunts have been frequented; but visits by dead relatives, which are so frequent a stimulus among the northern California tribes, are also mentioned as a source of the conferment. The bear doctor, of course, has bears as his spirit; the rattlesnake shaman, the sun, as with the Yuki. The rain doctor alone has his power associated more directly with an amulet than with any spirit.

The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface. A Yaudanchi, with two boy companions, caught a *wetapkul*, a long, large-eyed fish, which makes doctors by swallowing them. At once a great whirlwind circled, the trees broke, the water rose, and the three persons fled for their lives. That night in his sleep the monster came to the young man and gave him this song:

Whose is this fish to shoot?
Your hand feathers are panting!

The hand feathers are the *wachan* dance ornament used by doctors; they seem to symbolize the moving gills of the water monster.

Another southern Yokuts at dusk met two strangers, who took him with them into the stream, through two doors, one formed of a snake, one of a turtle. He had become unconscious. Inside their house the otters, for such they had become, resumed human shape. They offered *tipni* power to their guest, with the threat that he could not live if he refused. He took the gift, but asked for instructions concerning it. "You shall cure the sick, not kill human beings," was the naïve order he received with his song. When the man awoke he was on land once more, and dry as if he had never left the earth. This is his song:

The other says: Run in the brush;
Run in the brush, I hear continually.

Two instances of the genesis of bear doctors:

A Yaudanchi hunter was taken by a grizzly into its hidden house inside the rock, where it drew off its skin and became human. Others joined the circle, and a dance began. Suddenly a dog barked and the dance stopped. The man remained with his hosts several days.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and

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went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary.

The long period of training before full power is attained seems characteristic for Yokuts bear shamans, as for Yuki.

A bear doctor's song:

Again he comes,
Again the grizzly bear comes to me.

A shaman named Mayemai dreamed that his father sang to him:

Listen to me,
Mayemai!
There in the east
I shall emerge
Twirling
My hand feathers.

An eagle dance song, originally dreamed:

The earth quakes.
See my eagle
Emerging at the open place!

Coyote songs, dreamed, and perhaps also of moiety totemic reference:

Whirling in front of you,
It is mourned for,
The rope of our world

I am coyote,
We are coyotes.
The earth told them,
The earth said:
You shall not continually scratch me.

Coyote said:
What am I?
I am coyote.
I am of the water.
What am I?
I am coyote.

The frankness of these songs in allusions to the supernatural experience and mention of the guardian, and that in words which are far less altered to fit the rhythm than is customary in California, is remarkable.

The doctor's initiation dance of northern California has not been referred to among the Yokuts and seems not to have been practiced.

DISEASE AND CURE.

Three principal methods of curing disease are followed, besides the administration of herbs and parts of animals. Sucking the disease object, a pebble or bit of something, is universal. This is linked

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with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sickness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method.

The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig. 37, *f*.) A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of reprisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

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The Chukchansi know of a female shaman who on being killed and buried emerged from the ground in the shape of a bear and walked off unmolested. The Tachi ascribe to their bear doctors, and of course especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped or roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors. 756

While the valley Tachi bear doctor might dance over a patient, the Choinimni and Yaudanchi had a public dance of such personages, held outdoors. The exhibition is described as harmless in effect, and the dancers were paid, but the purpose of the demonstration, except as a demonstration, is obscure. Obviously the ceremony falls into the same class as the *Ohowish*, *Heshwash*, and rattlesnake stepping rites already mentioned. The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or skin around the loins, that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. The step was a short stiff leap with a heavy land. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe. [302 292] [535]

RATTLESNAKE SHAMANS.

The Chukchansi, among whom the public stepping ceremony was lacking or slenderly developed, nevertheless had shamans who cured rattlesnake bites. The poison was sucked out with a bone whistle, pointed, however, at the sun, and not at the bitten part. The poison was then displayed as a salivalike string—no doubt from the shaman's own mouth—and put away in a basket to be kept by him. The connection of rattlesnake and sun has already been alluded to as regards the shaman's spirit. The Yaudanchi rattlesnake doctor extracted gopher teeth by direct sucking: as the snake feeds on gophers, it retains their teeth to inject as poison. 752 755

Rattlesnake doctors are said to have received only moderate fees, as contrasted with the bankrupting payment to the Yuki shaman; and rattlesnakes are declared to have been killed, though reluctance to do this is so great among most other California Indians that it may be supposed that even among the Yokuts a common man would not lightly perform the act. 756 171

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WEATHER SHAMANS.

756 789 The weather doctor chiefly brought on rain, perhaps when it was needed, more often, it appears, like Samuel before the people, to prove his power. Again the national inclination toward public recognition of shamanistic displays is manifest. The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners.

The Chukchansi mention only blowing and the dipping of fingers into water as means of making rain; but the Tachi and southern [778] tribes describe cylindrical stones, 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects, which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the Cali- [428] fornia archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of his amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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Chapter 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 528; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; æsthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilization, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tumu*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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obsidian. Chukchansi face patterns are shown in Figures 45 *h–l*, 46 *m–o*.

Men frequently squatted rather than sat. For longer periods they sat on their heels, with toes turned together and hands on knees. The cross-legged position, the most common of all the world over, was not used, except perhaps on special occasions like gambling. Women stretched one leg out and folded the other back; or, at rest,

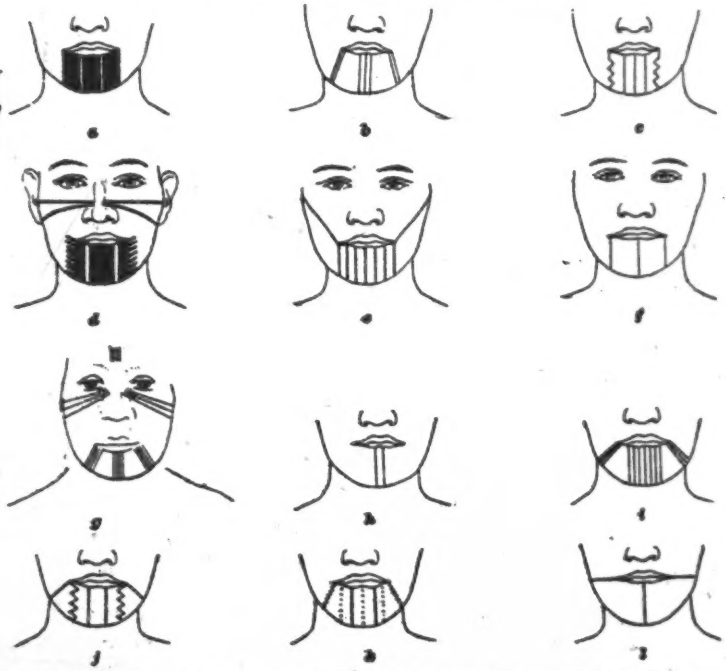

FIG. 45.—Women's tattoo. *a*, Yurok and northwestern tribes; *b*, *c*, San Francisco, probably Costanoan; *d*, Sinkyone; *e*, northwestern valley Maidu; *f*, northeastern and southern Maidu; *g*, Yuki; *h–l*, Chukchansi Yokuts. Compare the Wailaki, Yuki, Huchnom, and northern Pomo tattoos shown in Powers, Tribes of California, pages 116, 130, 140, 142, 144, 158.

drew the knees up and joined the hands in front of them. The Plains Indian woman's attitude, with both legs to one side, was not adopted. The habits of all the California Indians in these interesting matters are little known, but it is clear that custom and not inherited nature is the chief determinant. As at so many other points, nature seems at once to have furnished us a structure that permits a surprising variety of sustained positions, and to have deprived us of instincts favoring one rather than the other; so that culture has a clear opportunity to evolve the most diverse habits.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

HOUSES.

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The Yokuts built at least five kinds of dwellings.

1. Most distinctive was the mat-covered, gabled, communal *kamai* of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut, and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end.

[362] [592]

[304 531]

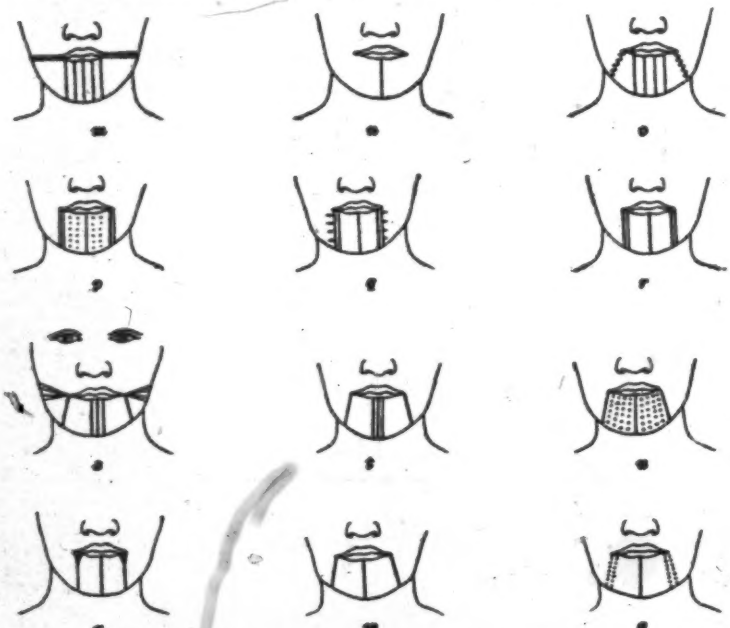

FIG. 46.—Women's and men's tattoo. Women: *m–o*, Chukchansi Yokuts; *p–s*, Mohave. Men: *o–r*, Mohave.

These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber.

[412]

2. The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or *dumlus*, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

3. The middle plains tribes, such as the Wechihit and Tachi, to-day build small tule houses of another type, elliptical or oblong

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

342 with rounded but vertical ends. There may be a ridgepole on two posts, with perhaps five poles planted along each side and bent over to the ridgepole. In this case the door is on one side of the front post. Or the ridgepole may be dispensed with and the poles bent all the way over or lashed together. The total length is only a dozen feet or so. The covering is of loose tule mats, each stalk wrapped to the next by a hitch in a single strand of string. Floor mats and bedding are sewn through. The Wechihit use a covering of tall *mohya* stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place outside by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called *te* or *chi*.

4. The Yaudanchi, though a hill tribe, built their principal winter houses or *te* of tule, of which a species called *shuyo* grows along streams to the very limit of the plains. This was a conical dwelling, and its most distinctive feature was a hoop at top to attach and at the same time separate the leaning poles of the framework, and leave a smoke hole. The tule mat covering was sewn as by the [361] lake tribes. The houses were placed in rows.

A larger, ridged house, with two fireplaces and a door at each end, was also built by the Yaudanchi. In this a valley influence can scarcely be questioned.

When camping well up in the hills in summer, or traveling, the Yokuts built small structures, apparently conical, covered with brush or bark.

Among the northern hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi and Gashowu, the house is also conical with a ring at the top, but usually thatched. The floor is lowered perhaps a foot with the digging stick. The door faces south, the diameter is 12 to 15 feet, the height not quite as much. Allowing for the lack of tule, this is the same house as that of the Yaudanchi, but it is called *ho*, literally "live," "sit."

5. A bark house of similar type is called *semish*. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering, then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

It is interesting that there is no reference anywhere to tule thatching. The thickness of this rush may make its sewing or binding into mats more practicable than bundling it into thatch. The Serrano and other southern Californians also built tule mat houses, but [32] the Pomo employed tule thatch.
343

The *ch'iniu* or shade, a flat roof on posts, was used by all the Yokuts. It must have been almost indispensable in the intensely hot summers of the plains.

344 The sweat house, *mosh* or *mos*, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends,

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in no sense a dance house or assembly chamber. Women never entered it. It was the regular sleeping place of the older men during the winter when they were at the home village. The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel windbreaks. Often on retiring, the inmates sang and sweated, perhaps in competition along the two sides, the fire being added to to make the opposite row cry out first that they had enough. Then came a plunge into the stream, and a return to dry and sleep. In the morning they ran shouting to the water again. 344

There is no house for dances and rituals. The rattlesnake "stepping," the mourning ceremony, and perhaps other rites were held in large roofless inclosures of brush, a sort of fence. This is the southern California form of ceremonial structure. North of the Yokuts it reaches to the Maidu as an adjunct of the mourning ceremony.

THE FOOD PROBLEM IN CALIFORNIA.

The California Indians are perhaps the most omnivorous group of tribes on the continent. The corn, salmon, buffalo, reindeer, or seal which formed the predominant staple in other regions, did indeed have a parallel in the acorn of California; but the parallel is striking rather than intrinsic. 262

To begin with, the oak is absent from many tracts. It does not grow in the higher mountains, in the desert, on most of the immediate coast; and it is at best rare in districts like the baked plains inhabited by the southern Yokuts valley tribes, a fact that may help to explain the permanent association and commingling of the majority of these tribes with their foothill neighbors. It is true that at worst it is rarely a far journey to an abundant growth of bearing acorns anywhere in California; but the availability of such supplies was greatly diminished by the habits of intense adherence to their limited soil followed by the great majority of divisions. 137 222 262

Then, where the acorn abounded, the practices both of collecting and of treating it led directly to the utilization also of other sources of nourishment. The farmer may and does hunt, or fish, or gather wild growths; but these activities, being of a different order, are a distraction from his regular pursuits, and an adjustment is necessary. Either the pursuit of wild foods becomes a subsidiary activity, indulged in intermittently as leisure affords, and from the motive of variety rather than need, or a sexual or seasonal division becomes established, which makes the same people in part, or for part of the year, farmers and in part hunters. An inclination of this sort is not wanting in many districts of California. The dry and hot summer makes an outdoor life in the hills, near the heads of the vanish- 222 262 132 222 262

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ing streams, a convenience and a pleasure which coincide almost exactly with the opportunity to hunt and to gather the various natural crops as they become available from month to month. The wet winter renders house life in the permanent settlement in a valley or on a river correspondingly attractive, and combines residence there with the easiest chance to fish the now enlarged streams on an extensive scale, or to pursue the swarms of arrived water fowl.

But this division was not momentous. The distances ranged over were minute. Fishing was not excluded among the hills. Deer, rabbits, and gophers could be hunted in the mild winter as well as in summer. And while acorns and other plant foods might be garnered each only over a brief season, it was an essential part of their use that much of their preparation as well as consumption should be spread through the cycle of the calendar.

Further, the food resources of California were bountiful in their variety rather than in their overwhelming abundance along special lines. If one supply failed, there were a hundred others to fall back upon. If a drought withered the corn shoots, if the buffalo unaccountably shifted, or the salmon failed to run, the very existence of peoples in other regions was shaken to its foundations. But the manifold distribution of available foods in California and the working out of corresponding means of reclaiming them prevented a failure of the acorn crop from producing similar effects. It might produce short rations and racking hunger, but scarcely starvation. It may be that it is chiefly our astounding ignorance of all the more intimate and basal phases of their lives that makes it seem as if downright mortal famine had been less often the portion of the Californian tribes than of those in most other regions of the continent. Yet, with all allowance for this potential factor of ignorance in our understanding, it does appear that such catastrophes were less deep and less regularly recurring. Both formulated and experiential tradition are nearly silent on actual famines, or refer to them with rationalizing abstraction. The only definite cases that have come to cognizance, other than for a few truly desert hordes whose slender subsistence permanently hung by a thread, are among the Mohave, an agricultural community in an oasis, and among the Indians of the lower Klamath, whose habits, in their primal dependence on the salmon, approximated those of the tribes of the coasts north of California.

The gathering of the acorn is like that of the pine nut; its leaching has led to the recognition of the serviceability of the buckeye once its poison is dissolved out; the grinding has stimulated the use of small hard seeds, which become edible only in pulverized form. The securing of plant foods in general is not separated by

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Miwok NS16

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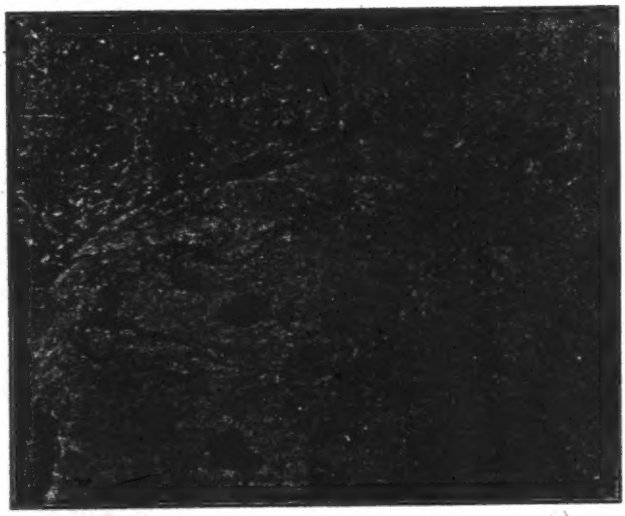

MIWOK MORTAR HOLES IN BEDROCK AND BOWLDER PESTLES

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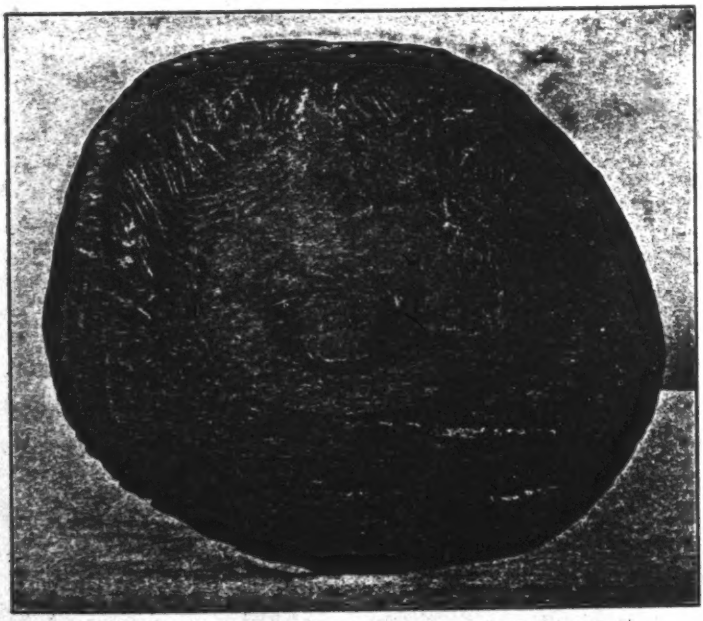

VALLEY YOKUTS MORTAR OF OAK

[Facing p. 524]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

any gap of distinctive process from that of obtaining grasshoppers, caterpillars, maggots, snails, mollusks, crawfish, or turtles, which can be got in masses or are practically immobile: a woman's digging stick will procure worms as readily as bulbs. Again, it is only a step to the taking of minnows in brooks, of gophers, or lizards, or small birds: the simplest of snares, a long stick, a thrown stone even, suffice with patience, and a boy can help out his grandmother. The fish pot is not very different from the acorn receptacle, and weirs, traps, stiff nets, and other devices for capturing fish are made in the same technique of basketry as the beaters, carriers, and winnowers for seeds. Even hunting was but occasionally the open, outright affair we are likely to think. Ducks were snared and netted, rabbits driven into nets, even deer caught in nooses and with similar devices. There is nothing in all this like the difference between riding down buffalo and gathering wild rice, like the break from whale hunting to berry picking, from farming to stalking deer.

The California Indian, then, secured his variety of foods by techniques that were closely interrelated, or, where diverse, connected by innumerable transitions. Few of the processes involved high skill or long experience for their successful application; none entailed serious danger, material exposure, or even strenuous effort. A little modification, and each process was capable of successful employment on some other class of food objects. Thus the activities called upon were distinguished by patience, simplicity, and crude adaptability rather than by intense endeavor and accurate specialization; and their outcome tended to manifold distribution and approximate balance in place of high yields or concentration along particular but detached lines.

The human food production of aboriginal California will accordingly not be well understood until a really thorough study has been made of all the activities of this kind among at least one people. The substances and the means are both so numerous that a recapitulation of such data as are available is always only a random, scattering selection.

Observers have mentioned what appealed to their sense of novelty or ingenuity, what they happened to see at a given moment, or what their native informants were interested in. But we rarely know whether such and such a device is peculiar to a locality or widespread, and if the former, why; whether it was a sporadic means or one that was seriously depended on; and what analogous ones it replaced. Statements that this tribe used a salmon harpoon, another a scoop net, a third a seine, a fourth poison, and that another

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29
SERRANO NS20

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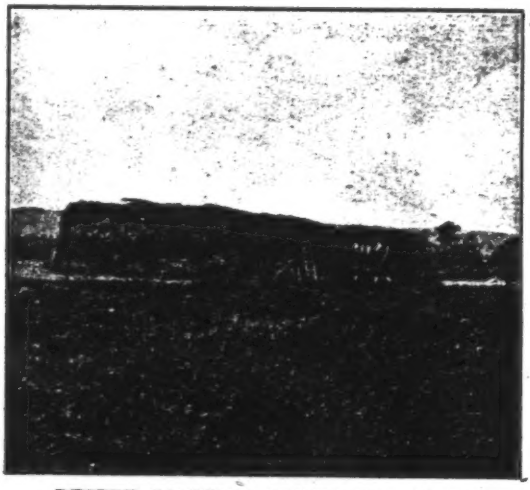

DESERT CAHUILLA THATCHED HOUSE

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SOUTHERN FOOTHILL YOKUTS PLATFORM AND BOOTH FOR SNARING PIGEONS

[FACING p. 525]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

114 226 built weirs, give us in their totality some approximation to a picture of the set of activities that underlie fishing in California as a whole: but for each individual group the statement is of little significance, for it is likely that those who used the nets used the spear and poison also, but under distinctive conditions; and when they did not, the question is whether the lack of one device is due to a more productive specialization of another, or to natural circumstances which made the employment of this or that method from the common stock of knowledge impracticable for certain localities.

262 171 There is, however, one point where neither experience nor environment is a factor, and in which pure custom reigns supreme: the animals chosen for the list of those not eaten. Myth, magic, totemism, or other beliefs may be at the bottom; but every tribe has such an index, which is totally unconnected with its abilities, cultural or physical, to take food.

[171] Among the Yokuts, one animal stands out as edible that everywhere in northern California is absolute taboo and deadly poison: the dog. The Yurok give as their formal reason for not drinking river water that a large stream might contain human foetuses or a dead dog. The Yokuts did not shrink from eating dogs.

Coyote flesh was generally avoided, whether from religious reverence or magical fear, is not clear. Grizzly bear meat was also viewed askance. The bear might have devoured human flesh, which would be near to making its eater a cannibal. Besides, in all probability, there was a lurking suspicion that a grizzly might not be a real one, but a transformed bear doctor. The disposition of the animal showed itself in the muscular fibers bristling erect when the flesh was cut, the Yokuts say. Brown bears had fewer plays of the imagination directed upon them, but even their meat was sometimes avoided. Birds of prey and carrion from the eagle down to the crow were not eaten. Their flesh, of course, is far from palatable; but it is these very birds that are central in Yokuts totemism, and the rigid abstinence may have this religious motivation. All reptiles were unclean to the southern Yokuts, as to the Tübatulabal; but the northern tribes exercised a peculiar discrimination. The gopher snake, water snakes, and frogs were rejected, but lizards, turtles, and, what is strangest of all, the rattlesnake, were fit food to the Chukchansi. There is a likely alien influence in this, for the neighboring Miwok probably, and the Salinans to the west certainly, ate snakes, lizards, and even frogs. On the other hand, the southern [224] Yokuts relished the skunk, which when smoked to death in its hole was without offensive odor; while to the Miwok and Salinans it was abomination.

2:Kroeber
101, 102, 131, 133, 312, 361, 197

NS29 Yokuts

Sec. A	Sec. B
Sec. C	Sec. D

Chart of the position of sections of map 526-I.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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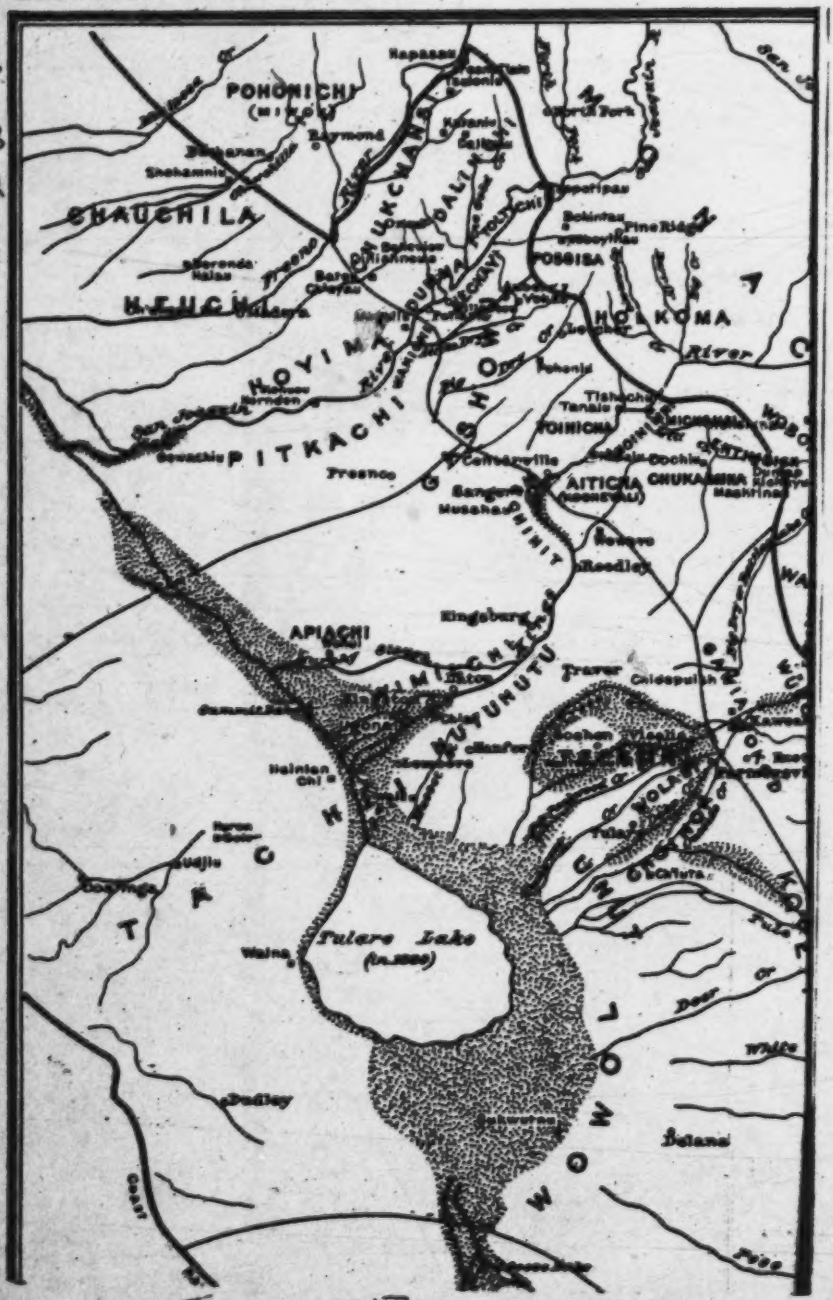

[p. 526-I(A)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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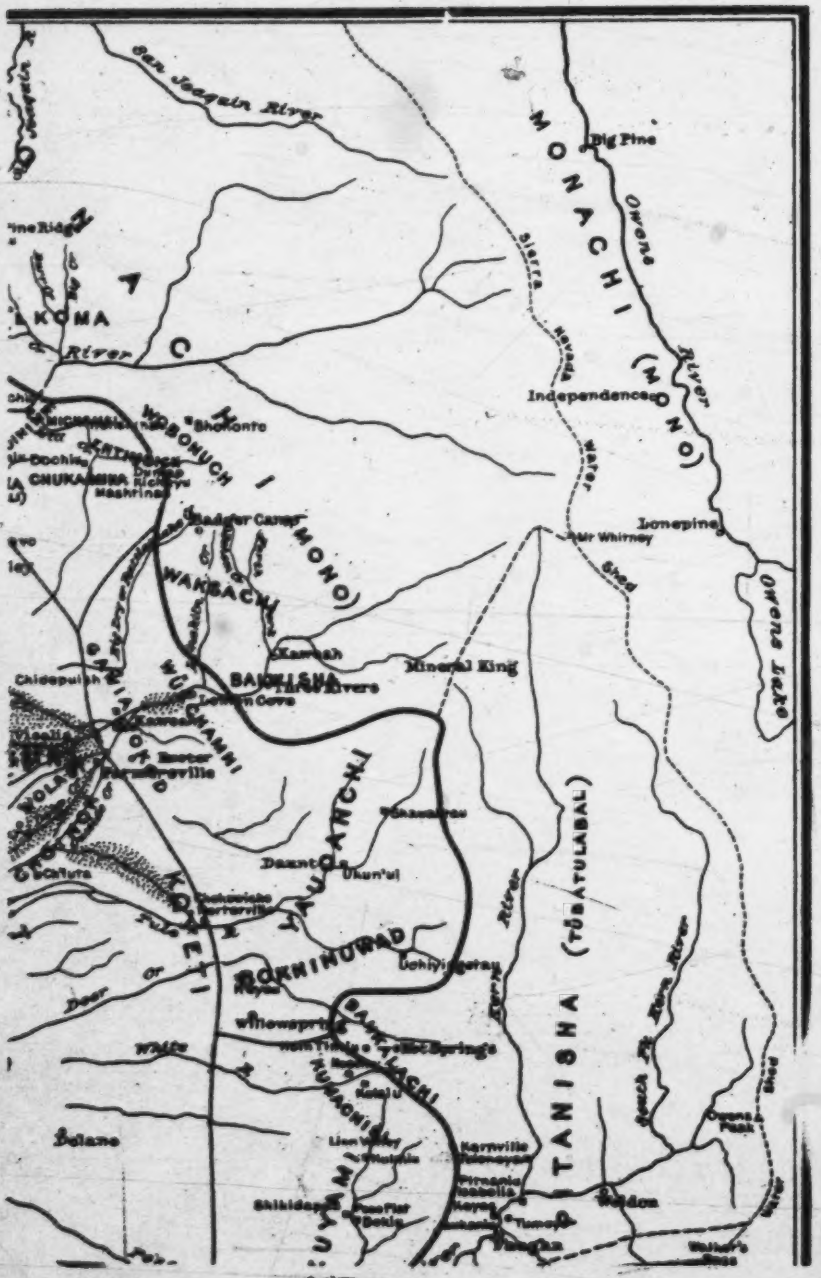
San Joaquin River
MONACHI
Big Pine
Owens
Sierra
Nevada
River
(MONO)
Independence
Lone Pine
Mt Whitney
Owens Lake
Shed
KOMA
River
Woshonte
CHUKAIMINA
Reserve
Mashrina
Badger Camp
MONO)
WAKACHI
Kaweah
Mineral King
Chicopuish
Lemon Cove
BALKINSHA
Three Rivers
Exeter
Farmersville
Visalia
Tulare
Dinuba
Dezmt
Ukun'ui
Kingsburg
Fresno
Reedley
Dry
Creek
Dunlap
Orange
Cove
Sanger
Fowler
Selma
Kingsburg
Fresno
Clovis
Madera
Chowchilla
Merced
Modesto
Stockton
Lodi
Sacramento
Woodland
Davis
Vacaville
Fairfield
Vallejo
Napa
Petaluma
Santa Rosa
Healdsburg
Ukiah
Willits
Eureka
Arcata
Crescent City
Redding
Red Bluff
Chico
Oroville
Marysville
Yuba City
Colusa
Willows
Orland
Corning
Tehama
Red Bluff
Redding
Shasta
Dunsmuir
Mt Shasta
Weed
Yreka
Montague
Tule Lake
Klamath Falls
Lakeview
Alturas
Susanville
Reno
Carson City
Minden
Gardnerville
Bridgeport
Mammoth Lakes
Bishop
Lone Pine
Independence
Big Pine
Owens Lake
Mojave
Barstow
Victorville
San Bernardino
Redlands
Riverside
Pomona
Los Angeles
Long Beach
Santa Ana
Anaheim
Pasadena
Glendale
Burbank
Hollywood
Santa Monica
Malibu
Ventura
Santa Barbara
Lompoc
Santa Maria
San Luis Obispo
Paso Robles
Atascadero
Templeton
Cambria
Morro Bay
Cayucos
Harmony
Cambria
Pacific Ocean
Point Arguello
Point Conception
Channel Islands
Santa Cruz Island
Santa Rosa Island
San Miguel Island
Anacapa Island
Santa Barbara Island
San Clemente Island
Catalina Island
San Nicolas Island
Farallon Islands
Point Reyes
Point Bonita
Golden Gate
San Francisco
Oakland
Berkeley
Alameda
San Leandro
Hayward
Fremont
Newark
Palo Alto
Mountain View
Sunnyvale
Santa Clara
San Jose
Gilroy
Hollister
Salinas
Monterey
Carmel
Pacific Grove
Big Sur
Point Sur
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2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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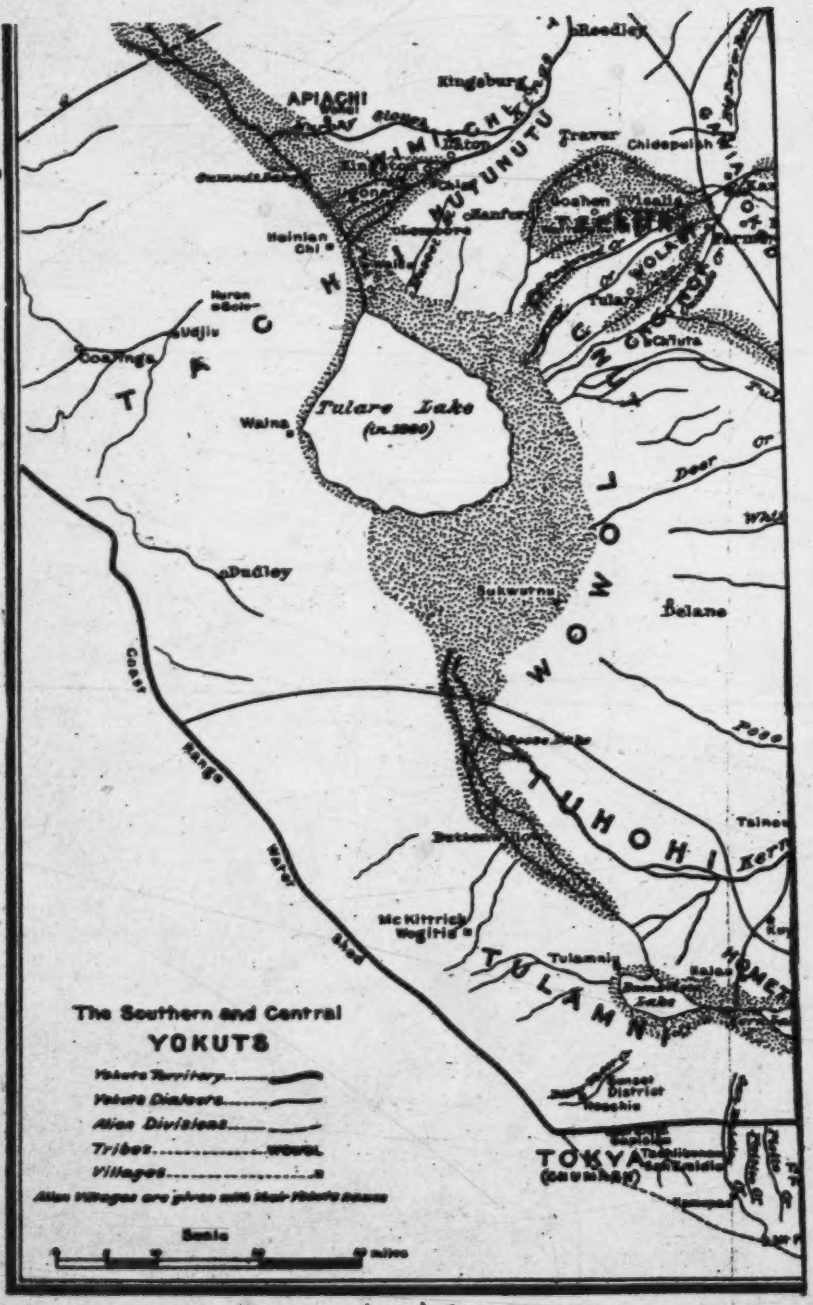

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

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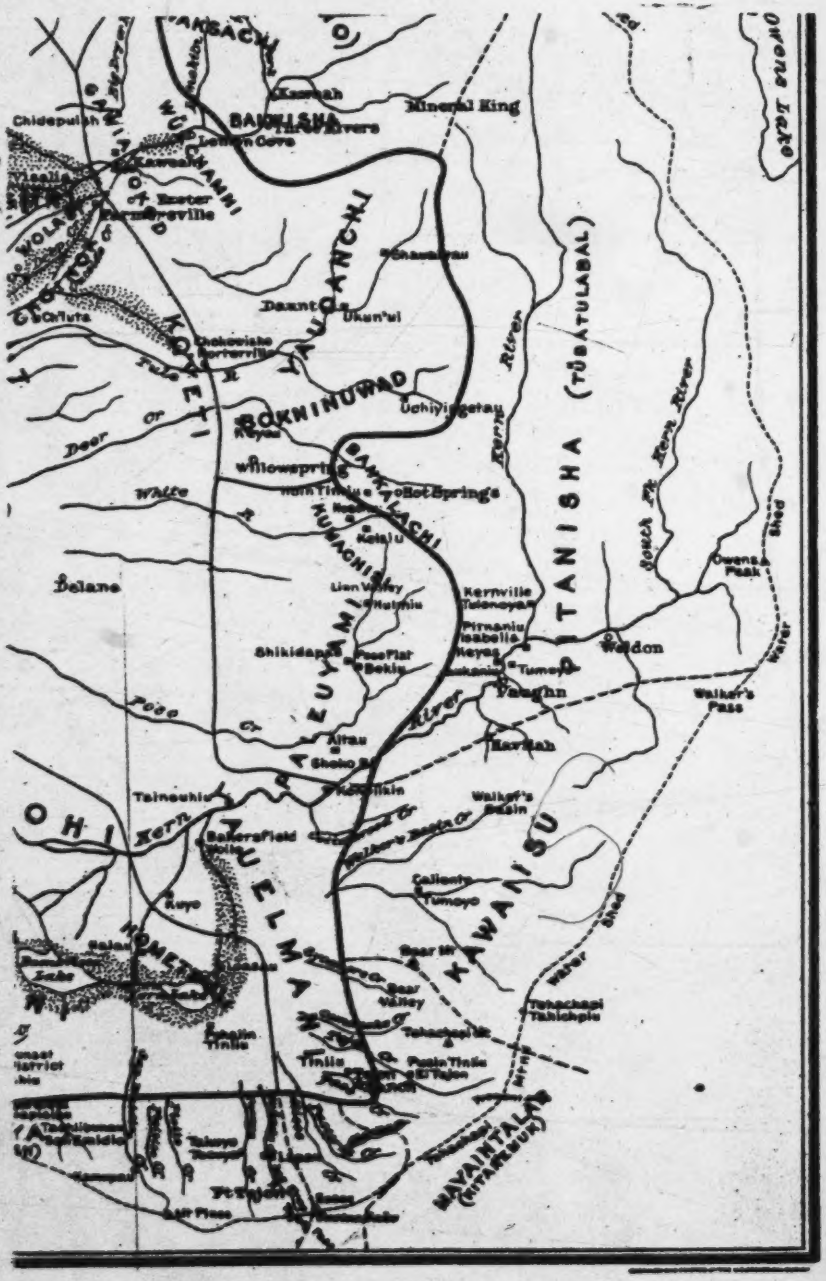
Owens Lake
Mineral King
Chidepuilah
Exeter
Farmersville
Chukchansi
Chukchansi
Dosantos
Ukun'ul
Chukchansi
Porterville
Tule R.
Kaweah R.
Kaweah
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2:Kroeber
101, 102, 131, 312, 361, 197

Chumash NS7
Serrano NS20

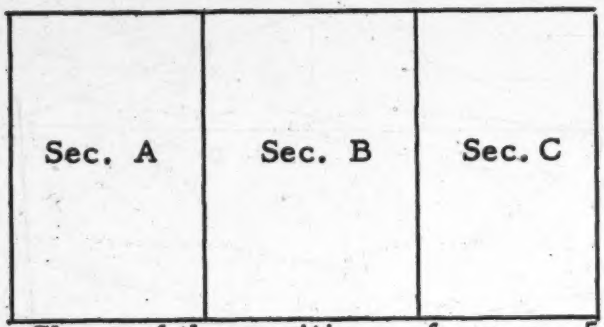

Chart of the positions of map p. 526-II.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts

Chumash NS7

SERRANO NS20

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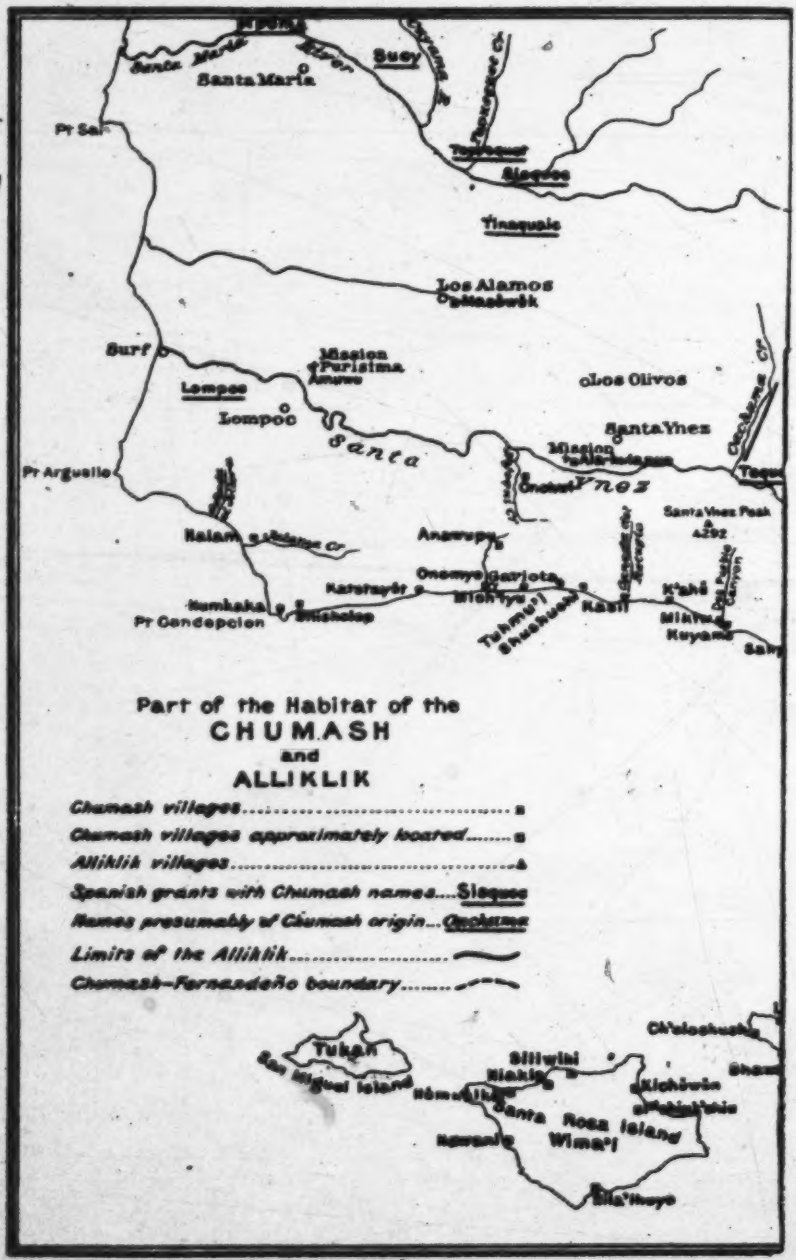

Part of the Habitat of the
CHUMASH
and
ALLIKLIK

Chumash villages.....

Chumash villages approximately located.....

Alliklik villages.....

Spanish grants with Chumash names....Sisquoc

Names presumably of Chumash origin...Cholame

Limits of the Alliklik.....

Chumash–Fernandeño boundary.....

p. 526-II (A)

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts

Chumash NS7
Serrano NS20

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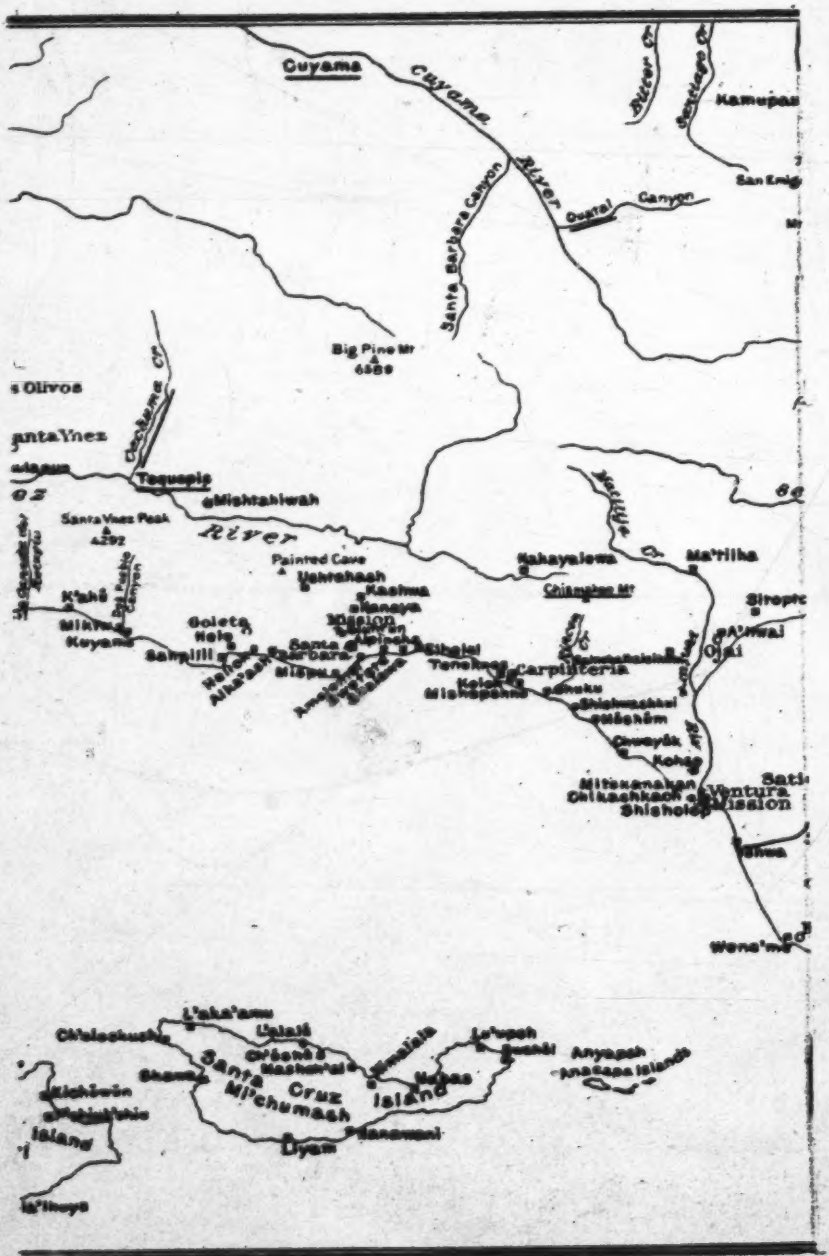

[p.526-II(B)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts

Chumash NS7

SERRANO NS20

CS
101
102
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[p. 526-II(C)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS PLANT FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

252 262 The buckeye process, which was probably similar to usages elsewhere in the State, was the following: The nuts were broken with a stone and soaked in water for a day. Next, the kernels were crushed to powder with the pestle. The last step was the extraction of the poison, which was done in the acorn-leaching place by the creek. Each time the flour dried a stick was laid aside; the pourings were so timed that the tenth stick was taken as the sun was nearly setting. The woman then cooked the flourlike acorn mush, and it was usually consumed on the spot.

The digger pine nut was not only eaten whole and raw but often treated like small seeds, being winnowed in a scoop-shaped basket, pounded into flour, and cooked. [251 343]

Acorn granaries were of Miwok and Maidu type. There is no record of their occurrence south of the Yokuts.

[415 324] Small shallow cook pots of soft stone, perhaps steatite, though described as reddish, were used by the Chukchansi and no doubt irregularly by other tribes who had access to a suitable supply of material. They were dug out with quartz. *Kuyati* and *kulosun* grubs, and angleworms, were perhaps stewed in these vessels, or more likely fried in their own fat at the edge of the fire.

[415 177] The paddle for stirring boiling acorn mush is not a Yokuts implement, the central Miwok being the most southerly group among whom it makes its regular appearance until southern California is reached. The Yokuts substitute a stick looped on itself, a less efficient stirrer but more serviceable for removing the cooking stones, and far more readily made. (Fig. 38.)

THE MORTAR.

412 The mortar was a pit in an outcrop of granite, used until the depth of the hole became inconvenient. A convenient exposure of bedrock near a village often contains dozens of holes in all stages of wear within a few yards. (Pl. 45.) Poles leaned together with brush thrown on made an arbor under which a group of women would work for hours, gossiping or singing. Their pestles were often left on the spot; they are rude, irregular, with little taper, and somewhat oval in cross section, even with one or two sides flat or concave; in fact, little more than longish river bowlders, somewhat shaped, partly by pecking with the edge of a flat cobble, and in part by continued usage.

On the alluvial plains portable mortars were necessary. The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was little more than a foot high, half

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

as much again in diameter. Except for a narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called *kowish;* and the Choinimni used it. It is a type that has rarely been observed north of Tehachapi outside the San Joaquin Valley: there are attributions to the Konomihu and the Patwin. (Pl. 45.)

Loose mortars of stone were found and used on occasion by all the tribes, but the universal testimony is that they were not made. In fact, the Chukchansi declare their inability to do so, and attribute all stone mortar holes, in situ as well as portable, to the coyote, who employed an agency of manufacture that decency debars from mention.

It is reported that the Yokuts sometimes fastened a hopper of basketry to the edge of a stone mortar; but this practice is established only for the southern California tribes, and needs confirmation. There is no Yokuts mortar basket, and the few available specimens of the combination suggest that an American may have cut the bottom out of a cooking basket and asphalted it to the stone.

Small stone mortars were probably used for special purposes quite different from those usually assumed. A toothless woman, for instance, was likely to keep such a one for pounding up the whole gophers or ground squirrels that younger relatives might from time to time toss her. Others may have been used for tobacco or medicines.

THE TAKING OF GAME AND FISH.

One hears less of deer snaring among the Yokuts than in the north; but they knew the device. Only, instead of setting the loop in a runway so as to encircle the neck, they laid it in a small concealed pit and fastened the end to a log.

Deer stalking with a deer's head as a decoy was shared with all the tribes of the north and central parts of the State. The Yokuts add that they painted their arms and breasts white like a deer's underside, and aided their traveling on all fours by holding a stick in each hand. When an animal was approached from the leeward, these sticks were rubbed together to produce the sound of a buck scraping his antlers.

Elk were too large to be snared, and in the open plains impossible to approach within bow range. They were chiefly secured in long-distance surrounds and drives called *tadwush*.

Antelope were similarly hunted, the valley groups uniting for intertribal drives, in circles that must often have been many miles in diameter at the start. When the ring had narrowed down so

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

that a shout could be heard across it, two warriors famous for dodging stepped forward from each tribe, and each shot one flint-tipped deer arrow from fully bent bow at his companion. Then these men, and they only, shot the crazed antelopes as they circled about within the human inclosure, or sometimes ran until they dropped from fear and exhaustion. Certain of the antelopes with peculiar horns were believed to sing as they ran, with ground owls sitting on their heads. These individuals were spared. The mimic warfare no doubt had magic intent; but the delegation of the shooting to select men served to keep the circle intact, which would certainly have broken under the excitement of every man aiming his arrow at his own quarry.

A safe though far from certain way of hunting bears was to shoot them on moonlight nights from a sort of nest constructed in a tree in their acorn feeding grounds.

When the geese traveled, inflammable brush was piled up, and when the birds were heard approaching on dark, still nights these were suddenly lit. The birds swooped down to the flare, and in their bewilderment were easily killed.

Pigeons were snared in the earliest morning from a comfortable brush booth with a grass window looking out on a leveled platform on which a live decoy was staked and bait scattered. The running noose was on a stick that was slowly shoved through the curtain until a bird stepped within. The victim was smothered with the knee, and the flock soon returned to feed. (Pl. 46.) The decoy was carried in a spindle-shaped cage.

The Yaudanchi capture of eagles was modeled on the principle of their pigeon taking. The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

Of the many ways of capturing fish, a few more unusual ways may be mentioned. Completely darkened booths were built, in which a man lay to spear the fish passing beneath. This device suggests the pigeon snaring and eagle taking arbor. Small fish could sometimes be taken with the scoop-shaped openwork baskets of the women. Poisons were two: ground buckeye nuts with earth stamped into them and crushed *sademe* leaves. Soon after these preparations were thrown into a small stream the fish began to float on the

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 surface. The *t'unoi* net was fastened to a circular frame on a pole, held vertically, and raised. The more usual Californian net of this type is on a half hoop, and is used rather for scooping or horizontal lifting.

263 Salt may have been obtained at springs, but the reported cases are from the Pitkachi, whose "salt" stank; from the Chukchansi, who went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground; and from the Yaudanchi, who, with other southern tribes, gathered a salty grass known as *alit* and beat it on stones to extract the juice; which was particularly favored with green clover.

THE BOW.

411 Common bows for small game were little more than a shaped stick; good bows were carefully smoothed of large mountain cedar wood and sinew backed. The commonest type, primarily for the hunt, was nearly as long as a man, of about two fingers' width and the thickness of one. The ends were recurved, probably through a curling back of the thickened sinew. Bows made specifically for fighting were shorter, broader, and flatter, and pinched in the middle. Except for being unpainted and probably not quite so extreme in form, this type appears to have been the same as the northern California one.

Mention of the right and left end of the bow makes it seem to have been held horizontally, or at least diagonally, as by most California tribes.

The arrow, *shitsid* generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as *t'uyosh*, *djibaku*, and *wuk'ud*. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow. The Mohave also fought with arrows lacking flint tips. The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

413 The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of soft stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. (Pl. 49, *c*.) This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have used this plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

SERRANO NS20

Western Mono NS25

River Yumans NT15

Diegueno US9

DRWYS 413

ARROW STRAIGHTENERS

a, b, Miwok; c, Yokuts; d, Cahuilla; e, Diegueño; f, Mohave (pottery)

[p. 530(A)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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[237
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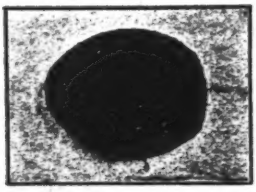
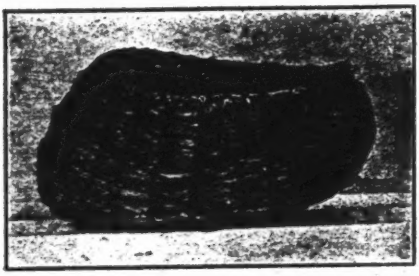
a



b



c

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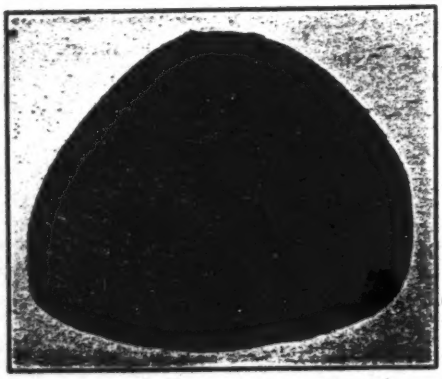

e

YOKUTS BASKETRY

a, Yokuts shouldered baskets with fringe of mountain quail plumes; b, tray for soup-making; c, mill basket of tules; d, seed beater or tray; e, diagonally twined winnower or tray

[p. 530(B)]

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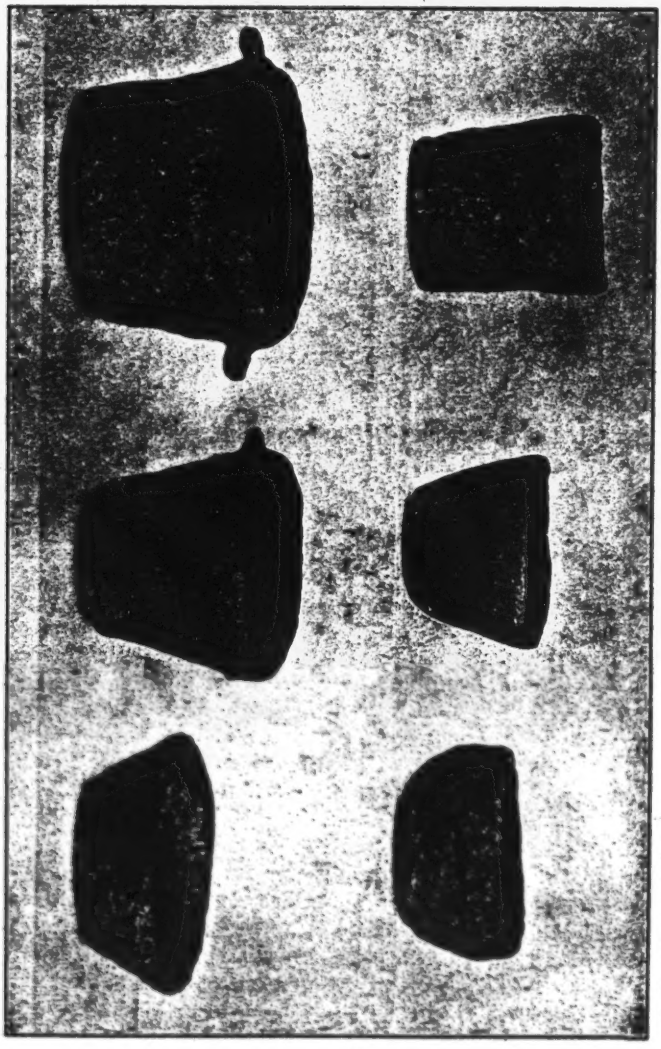

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BULLETIN 78 PLATE 31

YOKUTS POTTERY

[p. 530(C)]

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411 The sling was used only by boys, but the hill tribes report the Mono to have employed it in war. In the high Sierra it might often be more effective than an arrow.

BOATS.

501 Boats of bundled tule must have been in use among nearly all the valley tribes. On the tumbling streams in the hills these heavy rafts would have been utterly unmanageable. The northernmost Yokuts, below the Miwok of the hills, must have employed these craft constantly in their broad, sluggish streams and multitudinous still sloughs. They remained longest in service on Tulare Lake. Reconstructed models reveal only a cigar-shaped aggregation of bundles of rush, but the best specimens of old days may have approximated real boats in having raised edges. It can scarcely be presumed that the tule stalks could be bundled or beaten together so tight as to exclude the water; rather their lightness raised the whole mass so high that even the bottom of the hollow was above the water line, the gunwales serving only the convenience of preventing wave wash from entering and load or killed game from slipping overboard. Some of these lake boats carried three or four men in comfort, and could bear a small fire on an earth hearth. In maneuvering among the [223] tules the entire vessel and occupants were often covered over with tules, forming a movable blind for the pursuit of waterfowl.

TEXTILES.

285 Yokuts baskets are distinguished by one special type, a coiled jar-
531 like vessel with flat shoulder and constricted though sometimes re-flaring neck. The pattern is one or more bands in red and black, either diamonds or hexagons or alternate trapezoids. The shoulder [237] was often ornamented with a horizontally projecting fringe of quail crests (Pl. 50), for which red worsted is a modern substitute. These "Tulare bottlenecks," as they have come to be known in the curiosity 285 and antique trade, as well as the quail plume decoration, are not found among the Miwok on one side of the Yokuts nor among the 531 true southern Californians on the other. The two-color pattern is 171 also rare if not lacking among the tribes to the north and south, except among the Chumash. The western Mono, Tübatulabal, Koso, Kawaiisu, and Kitanemuk worked according to Yokuts type, but as they form a fringe of Shoshoneans they have probably derived the art from their lowland neighbors. Kawaiisu technique is, however, 285 as fine as Yokuts. The Chumash also did beautiful work, but the 171 shapes which they gave to their incurved baskets are perhaps less specialized. At least they lack the sharp shoulder and distinct neck which the Yokuts fancied; but their baskets are very small-mouthed.

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285 171 Chemehuevi forms are rounder, while the farthest traceable affinity is the small spherical basket of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. It is therefore possible to set the focus of the constricted neck forms among the southern Yokuts or the Chumash. As between these two groups, general grade of culture favors the Chumash, while the Yokuts are more central in the distribution of the type. The northern Yokuts, on and near the San Joaquin, do a much poorer grade of work than their southerly kinsmen, as do the Mono. But the Tübatulabal approximate the Tulare-drainage Yokuts in fineness of execution.

292 285 [482] The woman's basket cap was probably Yokuts. At least the southern Yokuts seem to have shared it with their southern and eastern Shoshonean neighbors. This hat was, however, worn only with a load on the back, not habitually. It is curious that the range of the southern California cap coincides with that of the carrying net; of the northern form, with the technique of exclusive twining.

285 [53] The pattern scheme of Yokuts baskets varies from the prevailing horizontal banding of southern California to the diagonal, vertical, and broken effects of Miwok basketry—largely according to locality. Materials and technique are also intermediate. The sewing is close, as in the north; in the Shoshonean area to the south, wider spaced. The foundation is a bundle of *Epicampes* grass, as in southern California; the wrapping, however, is not *Juncus*, as there, but more woody materials: root fibers of sedge (*Carex* or *Cladium?*) for the ground color, *Pteridium* fern root for black, bark of *Cercis* or redbud for red.

Very flat trays were made in coiling. The banded decoration of these brings them nearer Cahuilla and Luiseño ware than Maidu, where radiating designs prevail in flat work. Miwok coiled trays have gone out of use, if they were ever made. Yokuts women em- [525] ployed the finest of their trays for dice throwing; but of course the type was also put to more lowly and daily service.

Twined baskets were more poorly made, but filled a greater variety of needs and perhaps outnumbered coiled pieces in the normal household. The carrying basket was loose enough in texture to be describable as openwork. The interstices were filled with a mucilaginous smear. The commonest of all receptacles is an oval or ovate tray, with a rounding bottom. The term "winnower" describes only one of its manifold uses. The seed beater was but such a tray, one end of which was continued to a handle. Another form of tray was rounded triangular, nearly flat, and wholly or partly in [177] diagonal twining. This has almost certainly been borrowed by the Yokuts from the Shoshoneans on their east. The Tulare Lake tribes must once have possessed a considerable array of special ware in

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tule, both coiled and twined; but as it made no decorative endeavor it has passed away with the disintegration of the culture of these tribes almost without preservation. (Pl. 50.) 285

The Yaudanchi affirm that they knew the pitched water bottle of the desert and southern California; but no specimens have survived.

Large baskets were used by the men to ferry women and children across rivers, as by the Yuki. The Mohave employed pots for the same purpose. [501]

Basket patterns had more or less aptly descriptive names, but these were ordinarily without symbolic or religious reference. Some of the names were adjectival, like "zigzag" and "crooked"; others denoted parts of animals, whole small animals, or familiar objects. The significance might be in the pattern as a whole or in the design element. (Fig. 47.) The number of names was not over a few dozen. 285 531

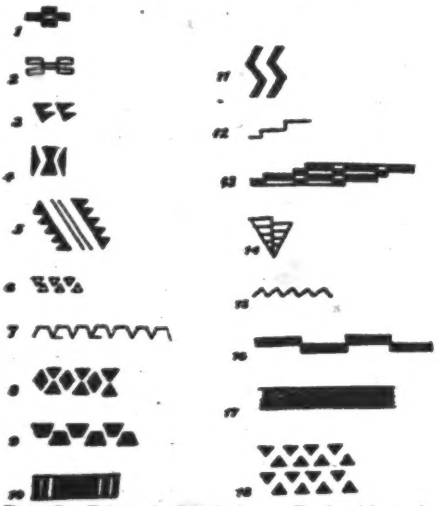

FIG. 47.—Yokuts basket designs. Yaudanchi: 1, 2, flies; 3, 4, deer foot; 5, arrow points; 6, 7, crooked; 8, 9, rattlesnake markings; 10, king snake markings; 11, water snake; 12, chok, wood-gathering crook; 13, tied in the middle. Chukchansi: 14, arrow point; 15, crooked; 16, millipede; 17, king snake markings; 18, rattlesnake markings.

The pattern designations of the Yokuts, like most of the patterns, are generally confined to themselves or their immediate neighbors; but their range, character, and limitation of meaning are typical for all the California Indians, whatever their varieties of techniques, materials, and forms of basketry. Where the matter has been most fully inquired into, as among the Pomo, it is found that design names are often combined, or modified by standardized epithets, which allow of the accurate description of even a complex pattern. It is not unlikely that the Yokuts may prove to have followed a similar system.

The carrying net, *chutia*, into which either a conical basket or a less shapely load could be set, reappears with the Yokuts. It seems to have been of southern California type, light and with detachable supporting band or rope. Pack straps of braided string were also slung around the load and forehead. 286 482

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283 The commonest string material was milkweed, *Asclepias*, called *shah* or *chaka*. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fibers, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply. This is a practically universal rule for California. Except for a few ancient fragments, every piece of three-ply rope or twine in the State is of American provenience or obviously modern.

The other great string material of the bulk of the Californians, wild hemp, *Apocynum*, has not been reported from the Yokuts; but this is likely to be only an oversight. The inner bark of a large shrub called *hoh* was made by the Yokuts into rough rope for withes, pigeon cages, and similar bound articles.

CRADLES OF THE YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIANS.

854 The Yokuts cradle shows three types. The first is a flat rectangle or trapezoid of twined basketry with a curved hood. The hood is
352 loosely or not at all attached to the top edge of the base, and is car-
285 ried by a basketry hoop or side supports. (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*.) This type is found also among the western Mono, and, with some modification, among the eastern Mono. (Pl. 40, *k*.) The latter run the rods of their base across instead of lengthwise, and set a smaller and rounder
[171] hood on more snugly. The Miwok (Pl. 39, *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*) and western Mono (Pl. 40, *l*) sometimes use the base of the Yokuts, without the hood. The Washo cradle is substantially that of the Yokuts.

The second type is built up on half a dozen sticks lashed across a large wooden fork. A layer of string-twined tules is put over the sticks. (Pl. 40, *m*.)

The third form is a mat of twined tules, with loops at the edges to pull the lashings through. (Pl. 40, *g*.)

The hooded basketry cradle seems to predominate in the north, the forked stick type in the south, and the soft frameless tule form on Tulare Lake; but this distribution is not altogether certain, and it is possible that the age of the child, or the season of the year, may have been of influence.

[171] The Maidu cradle is often made on a forked framework, and in summer carries a basketry hood. It differs, however, in carrying numerous light transverse rods, in having the ends of the fork united

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by a stick loop, and in often lacking the point of the fork. (Pl. 40, *n*, *o*.) None of the Yokuts cradles, clearly, is made for hanging, except perhaps by a strap. The Maidu cradle may be described as a combination of the Yokuts first and second types; among the latter people no such combination or transitional type has been found.

The southern California cradle, so far as known, has a ladderlike foundation of a few short sticks on two long ones. The two long rods are, however, joined at the top instead of at the bottom: that is, there is a loop at the top instead of a fork below. The hood is also a separate hoop of wickerwork. (Pl. 39, *b*.)

The cradle of northeastern California, northwestern California, and the Pomo region is, in spite of much local variation, uniformly of a different order. It is of basketry, not of sticks; it is hollow instead of flat; and a rounded bottom is an integral part of the structure, while the hood is clearly a subsidiary feature. This northern cradle is built essentially for sitting (Pl. 35); that of central and southern California only for lying.

FIG. 48.—Cradle types of central and southern California. *a*, Diegueño, Mohave; *b*, *c*, Maidu; *d*, Yokuts, Kitanemuk; *e*, northern Miwok; *f*, Yokuts, Miwok, western Mono; *g*, eastern Mono. (Cf. Pls. 39, 40.)

The stiff cradles of central and southern California may be schematized as in Figure 48, *a*–*e* being types with a wooden frame, *f*–*g* basketry forms. It will be seen that there is a complete transition from *a* to *d*: *b* differs superficially from *c* only in lacking the point of the latter. Structurally, however, the gap in the series comes between these two, *b* being only *a* with the ends of the frame rod joined, whereas *c* is *d*, namely, a natural fork at the bottom, with an added hoop. That form and consequent use may be of more importance than structural plan, so far as connections go, appears from the fact that *b* and *c* are the winter and summer types of the same people, the Maidu.

Even the stick and the basketry types shade into each other: *b* and *c*, whose transverse rods are close and slender, need only the substitution of a few courses of twining for their underlying hoop or fork frame to become *g*.

In Miwok basketry pieces of type *f*, like Plate 39, *e*, the strengthening hoop seems secondary, but may be a vestige of a former wooden foundation.

The hood is primarily associated with the basketry cradle, but again there are exceptions on both sides that make transitions. *B* and *d* are always hoodless, so far as known, and the hood of *a* is

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structurally separate. *C*, however, is hooded; on the other hand, *f* is found without a hood as well as with it.

Finally, the soft tule-mat cradle of the Tachi (Pl. 40, *g*) is the same in plan as Mono stiff basketry specimens like Plate 40, *l*, differing only in its pliability.

An aberrant type is *e*, so far reported only from the northerly Miwok. The frame is wooden, but distinctive in not being in a single plane. The two rods curl up from the base. This enables them to serve at once as hooks for hanging and as a hood frame. (Pl. 39, *f*.)

The historical interrelations of the several types can only become known through ampler material than is now available, both from within California and without. It is only possible to say that in spite of transitions the basketry and the wooden-frame types seem fundamental.

The former has its rods running longitudinally and is intra-Californian, or rather cis-Sierra, the northern sitting cradle linking with it in this feature of direction of the elements.

The wooden-frame cradle with cross rods is trans-Sierra, including southern California. On this interpretation the hill and mountain Maidu cradle has been shaped by Shoshonean influences from the Great Basin, and the Yokuts have been infiltrated to some extent by the same influences. On the other hand, the Shoshoneans within the Sierra Nevada, such as the western Mono, and presumably the Tübatulabal, follow the Californian method of construction at least as frequently as do the neighboring native stocks.

An interesting minor feature of Yokuts cradles is the expression of sex in the decoration. The Chukchansi put a band of parallel diagonal lines on a boy's hood, a zigzag on a girl's. A number of the Yokuts cradles from other localities show the same designs; several have the twining of the frame analogously disposed (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*). Diamonds may be the equivalent of the zigzag, in which case a genital connotation is possible. Eastern and western Mono hoods show patterns of the same kind (Pl. 40, *k*); the Washo denote sex in their hood ornamentation; the Miwok may therefore be guessed to follow the principle also; and the Mohave use distinct patterns for boys and girls in the braided bands with which the child is lashed to the frame, besides putting feathers only on a boy's hood. The device is therefore of some geographical extent, and may represent an eastern influence into California. It is of special appeal because of the rarity of symbolic expression in California outside of ritual; and even in ritual the symbolism is scant compared with the habits of the Southwest, the Plains, and the East.

While the same patterns probably occur over a large area with the same symbolism, the sex denotation itself is expressed in other ways

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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also. Thus the Nutunutu boy's cradle is said to have the hood fastened only at the sides, the girl's at the top and the base also. 352 285 531

POTTERY.

The Yokuts practice one curious and hitherto undescribed art: that of pottery making. The precise distribution of this industry remains to be ascertained. The southern hill tribes made pots; the adjacent valley tribes appear to have; on the lake tribes there is no information; the Chukchansi and probably other northern tribes did not follow the art. Of adjacent Shoshoneans, the Tübatulabal made pots; some of the western Mono probably did. Outside of these groups there is no record whatever of the industry. It is not connected geographically with the pottery-making area of southern California, which does not come north of the San Bernardino Range, so far as known; and the territorial gap is paralleled by a thorough diversity of the ware. 323 184 171

The distinctive feature of this pottery is its excessive crudeness. It appears to have been made by a rough fitting together of pieces of clay, or a pressing out of a lump: there is no evidence of the coiling and smoothing method. It is doubtful whether the clay contains tempering. Glue, blood, or a sticky substance may have been introduced as binding material. The color is from light to dark gray. There is no slip, wash, or pattern, except now and then a rude incision obviously modeled on a basket pattern. The shapes are indefinitely varied, without approach to standardized forms. A row of the vessels looks as if produced by children or experimenters. (Pl. 51.) 323

Even the uses are not known. Most of the pots show evidences of employment in the fire. But their purposes must have been special, since the ordinary cooking of the Yokuts is as regularly performed in baskets as among other groups. Small vessels may have been intended for services that we can only suspect. Thus the Yaudanchi affirm that they formerly kept tobacco in hollowed clay balls.

Archaeology gives no information as to the age of the industry. There has been little collecting in the Yokuts area and no systematic exploration. The prehistoric clay cooking balls or sling shots of the stoneless Stockton plains, where the Yokuts Chulamni lived in the historic period, suggest a connection; but no vessels of the same material have ever been found with these. The Clear Lake Pomo sometimes make a minute receptacle by pressing a hole in a lump of clay; but they do not bake these little articles. Evidently there were some anticipations toward pottery making latent in parts of California; and the Yokuts carried these tentative steps 323 172 171 323

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323 a little further. But the inference of a stimulus, however indirect, coming through their immediate Shoshonean neighbors from the [174] pottery-making Shoshoneans of the south or east can hardly be avoided; and therewith the interpretation of an ultimate southwestern origin of the art.

PIPES AND TOBACCO.

276 The pipe is small among the Yokuts. (Pl. 30, *c*, *d*.) A wooden 171 pipe is found among the Chukchansi and Gashowu; the Yaudanchi and southern tribes normally used a bit of cane, which was carried in the pierced lobe of the ear. The northern Yokuts implement suggests the southern Californian stone pipe in size and shape, and the Mohave equivalent of clay. Outwardly it is similar to the abbreviated Miwok pipe, but the latter has a very short reed or stem inserted as a mouthpiece. Occasionally a pipe with enlarged bowl, of Pomo shape but very much smaller, is to be found among the northerly Yokuts. All the Yokuts declare that they did not use stone pipes; and the random finds of prehistoric material in their habitat include very few, if any, such implements.

276 The reason for the abortiveness of the Yokuts pipe is to be found in the fact that a common practice of all the tribes was to eat tobacco instead of smoking it. This custom is affirmed by the Chukchansi, Gashowu, Tachi, Wükchamni, Yaudanchi, and Yauelmani, and was therefore evidently universal. Garcés, in 1776, found a Serrano Shoshonean tribe bordering on the Yokuts, either the Kitanemuk or the Alliklik, following the same practice, to the serious discomfort of his unaccustomed Mohave companions. One method was to [170] mix the leaves with fresh-water mussel shells that had been burned to lime. This procedure is of interest because it recurs in the northernmost part of the Pacific coast. A probably less usual plan was to drink a decoction of tobacco in water. In either event vomiting followed except for the long-hardened. The after effects of the emetic may have been pleasant. At any rate they were considered beneficial, and in some cases at least they were thought [787] to impart supernatural efficiency. The Chukchansi speak of being able to detect wizards after eating tobacco.

GAMES.

526 Among the Yokuts the guessing or hand game becomes less important than among the tribes of northern California. Its place in the prime estimation of men is taken, as in parts of southern California, by the hoop and pole and the shinny game, though which of these two enjoyed preeminence it is hard to say—perhaps shinny.

This game, *kataawish*, was named from the shinny stick, *kated*. The ball was called *odot*. It was not shinny in our sense, played

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with one ball, but rather a form of the ball or stick race of the Southwest, each party propelling its knob of white oak with sticks instead of feet. The course, however, was short, within a definite field, the *katadwishchu;* and among the Chukchansi the ball had to be holed to win. 526

Chukchansi women played the same game with straighter sticks, and threw a hoop in place of striking the ball.

Another variant, though for men, was lacrosse, *ch'ityuish*, named after the racket, *ch'itei*. The "net" was nothing but a loop that half fitted the ball. This game was secondary to the *katdwish*.

In hoop and pole the throwing stick was called *payas*, the rolling buckskin-wound ring *tokoin*, and the carefully smoothed ground, often by the side of the sweat house, *s'n*. The game itself, *hochwish*, was substantially that of the Mohave; it extended as far north as the Chukchansi.

In the *aitwich* the pole was thrown at a sliding billet, *t'ich*. The same name is now applied to the Spanish "nine men's morris": the men are *aiek*.

A third form was the *hadwwush*, in which darts were thrown at a mark hidden by a fence of brush.

There is no record of any Yokuts cup and ball game.

The guessing game was called *wehlawash* by the Chukchansi, *a'liwash* by the Yauelmani, *hi'uniwich* by the Yaudanchi. The former, like the northern Californians, used wooden pieces, or in a good set, bones; the latter, bits of cane slipped, as in southern California, over an endless string to prevent the deceit of interchange after the guess. The marked piece was called "man" and guessed for; the plain one was the "woman." The Yaudanchi shot out one finger if he meant the hand at which he pointed, but two to indicate the ignored side as containing the "man." When there were two pairs of players confronting each other, a single finger signified a guess at the hand indicated and at the partner's opposite hand; two fingers, the same hand of both players. These complications look like arbitrary elaborations; but like most such Californian devices, they spring from an intensive development of the spirit of the game. A gesture begun with one finger can be finished with two if the instant suffices for recognition of a trace of satisfaction in the opponent's countenance as he realizes an impending false guess. These attempts to provoke betrayal imply instantaneous shiftings of features and fingers and lightninglike decisions and reactions; and it is impossible to have seen a Californian Indian warmed to his work in this game when played for stakes—provided its aim and method are understood—and any longer justly to designate him mentally sluggish and emotionally 525

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525 apathetic, as is the wont. It is a game in which not sticks and luck but the tensest of wills, the keenest perceptions, and the suppliest of muscular responses are matched; and only rarely are the faculties of a Caucasian left sufficiently undulled in adult age to compete other than disastrously against the Indian practiced in his specialty. Seen in this light, the contortions, gesticulations, [152] noises, and excitement of the native are not the mere uncontrolledness of an overgrown child, but the outward reflexes of a powerfully surcharged intensity, and devices that at once stimulate the contestant's energy still further and aid him in dazzling and confusing his opponent. There is possibly no game in the world that, played sitting, has, with equal intrinsic simplicity, such competitive capacities.

The Yaudanchi shuffled under a blanket instead of behind the back or in bunches of hay. Among the Chukchansi only women used the blanket.

Chomwosh is the guessing or matching of hidden fingers. It is too little described to allow of a decision between the possibilities of native and Mediterranean origin.

Dice was the woman's game. There were two forms. *Huchuwish* was played with 8 *huech*, half shells of nut filled with pitch or asphalt and bits of sea shell, thrown from both hands on a basketry tray, *t'aiwan*. The far-away Chemehuevi play this much like the southern Yokuts, though with 6 instead of 8 pieces; it appears to be a game of Shoshonean origin. The Chukchansi keep the name, but use 6 split acorn kernels. Beyond them, the course of the game becomes uncertain. For the Miwok nothing is known, and the Maidu seem to lack all dice. The Yaudanchi played for 12 counters, and the scoring ran: 5 of 8 flat surfaces up, 2 counters; 2 up, 1; any other number, none. The Chukchansi won by taking 10 counters, and considered only the possible combinations of falls, irrespective of side. Six to none counted 4 points; 4 to 2 or 3 to 3, 1; 5 to 1, nothing. Such variations seem to occur in all Californian games, even between adjacent areas.

The second dice game, *tachhuwish*, was played with 6 (or 8) split sticks, *dalak*, of elderwood in the north, of cane in the south, burned with a pattern on the convex side and thrown on end on a skin.

There was a generic word, *goyuwinich*, for gambler. *Gwiunaushid mak*, "let us gamble," the Yaudanchi would say.

AESTHETICS.

517 Apart from basket patterns, there was no trace of activity of graphic or plastic art in Yokuts life. The images in the mourning ceremony were symbols of the rudest kind. Anything like the trac-

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ing of a picture or shaping of a figure was foreign to the native mind. Even conventionalized symbols were lacking, for conventionalization is a standardization of some artistic impulse, and this impulse never manifested itself. The stiff figures of men and animals that occasionally appear on baskets are invariably due to American influence, among the Yokuts as well as among all other Californian groups. One can not have become imbued with a feeling for the decorative value of California basketry without resenting these childish introductions as fatal to the inherent aesthetic qualities of the work. Our tastes have been infinitely more cultivated than those of the native Californian; but in the few directions, or one direction, in which he had made an incipient progress in ornamentation, his habits had poise and restraint.

The ungraphic, unplastic, and unsymbolic character of native Californian civilization is complete to a degree that is almost inconceivable. It is only rarely that an Indian can be induced to draw in the sand the most schematic sketch of the rivers or mountains of his habitat. In southern California there are indeed some faint stirrings in the sand paintings, but only under a strong ritualistic motive; and the poverty and rudeness of these, compared with their Navaho and Pueblo prototypes, reveal the aridity of the artistic soil which this southwestern religio-aesthetic influence encountered in its invasion of California.

In all the remainder of the State even this trace is wanting. For once the deep cleavage between the northwest and the central south is effaced. The Yurok and Hupa culture may be a North Pacific coast civilization in nine-tenths of its essential impulses and goals; in representative art it is as Californian as that of the Maidu or Yokuts.

How far some beginnings of literary form have evolved in Yokuts traditions, in comparison with those of their neighbors, it would be difficult to state. The languages, the emotions, and the pleasures of the natives are everywhere known with too little intimacy for a judgment to be of value. Myths have been recorded primarily with reference to their episodic content, their religious associations, or their systematic coherence. Such as are available from the Yokuts evince a lower literary pitch, a less intensity of presentation, than those of northern and southern California at their best. But we do not know how far they are artistically representative; and what has already been said about the animal pantheon of these people suffices to reveal that the real merits of their folklore lie implicit in a background or setting of which the skeletonized translations that are available give to us but rudimentary hints.

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Much the same must be said of music, only in a still stronger degree. Some differences of external form, or involved system, are apparent between the songs of various parts of California. But as long as no exact analysis has been rendered, and especially as long as no one has approached this music with any desire to enter into its essential spirit, comparisons between the aesthetic value of the inclinations and achievements of this and that tribe are empty.

Southern Yokuts men sometimes played the musical bow after settling themselves in bed; the Chukchansi in mourning the dead. These may be but two expressions of one employment. Modern forms of the instrument have a peg key for adjusting the tension, or are made on cornstalks. In old days a true shooting bow, or a separate instrument made on the model of a bow, was used. *Mawu*, or *mawuwi*, was its name. One end was held in the mouth, while the lone string was tapped, not plucked, with the nail of the index finger; the melody, audible to himself only, was produced by changes in the size of the resonance chamber formed by the player's oral cavity.

THE TYPE OF YOKUTS CIVILIZATION.

The affiliations of Yokuts civilization are nearly equal in all directions. To the north, their system of totemic moieties connects them with the Miwok while certain detailed elements of their culture, such as the Y-frame cradle and the magpie headdress, link them definitely with the Maidu. To the east their twined basketry has close relations as far as the remoter edge of the Great Basin. Toward the Shoshonean and Yuman south there are innumerable threads: the Jimson weed ritual, the arrow straightener, the carrying net, to mention only a few. Toward the west the decay of Salinan and Chumash culture makes exact comparison difficult, but what little is known of the former people evidences a strong Yokuts impress, while with the nearer Chumash relations of trade were close and must have brought many approaches of custom in their train. It is difficult to say where the most numerous and most basic links stretch.

Equally impressive, however, are the features distinctive of the civilization of the Yokuts, or rather of the group composed of themselves and their smaller and less known Shoshonean neighbors on the immediate east and south. These specialties include the true tribal organization, the duality of chieftainship, the regulated functions of transvestites, the coordinated animal pantheon, the eagle-down skirt, the constricted coiled basket, a distinctive pottery, and the communal house, to mention only a few points.

It thus seems that the Yokuts were a nation of considerable individuality. It appears throughout California that the dwellers in

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the larger valleys, though they were the first to crumble at the touch of the Caucasian, elaborated a more complex culture than the hill tribes; and the Yokuts were a lowland people in a greater measure than any other stock in California.

But it is also evident that wherever the soil of history is really penetrated in California a rich variety of growths is found. If a little mountain group like the Yuki, placed between more highly civilized nations, has been able to evolve feature after feature of cultural distinctness, there is every reason to believe that the same would prove to be true of nearly all the California tribes, if only we really knew them; and a large, compact, and prosperous block of people like the Yokuts would be exceptional only in having carried the development of their originality somewhat farther than the majority.

It so happens that in the long stretch of land between the Maidu and the Luiseño no tribe has yet been exhaustively studied with any array of information. It is therefore inevitable that the present account of the Yokuts, the first rendered in any detail, scattered as that is, should reveal many novelties. But there is nothing to encourage the belief that if the Miwok, the Tübatulabal, the Serrano, or the Salinans had happened to be chosen, there would have been any notably less quantity of interesting peculiarities revealed; not to mention that for the Pomo and Chumash, little known as they are, we have every indication of a civilizational richness greater, if anything, than that evinced by the Yokuts.

In other words, the exact understanding of the Indian history of California still lies before us. Some foundations may have been laid for it in the present work. The outlines were sketched for all time 40 years ago by the masterly hand of Stephen Powers. But the real structure will be a gift of the future; and its materials can only be assembled by investigations far more intensive, as well as continuous, than those yet undertaken.

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